



REMEMBER PEARL HARBOR

THE BATTLE OF THE MARINE







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THE SPIRIT OF 1941

"We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

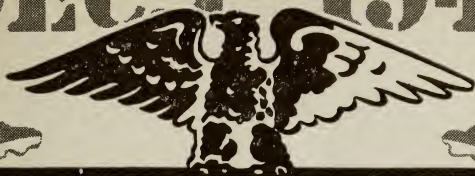
"And in the dark hours of this day—and through the dark days that may be yet to come—we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. For, in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well—our hope and their hope for liberty under God."

—From President Roosevelt's broadcast report on the progress of hostilities, December 9, 1941.



Franklin D. Roosevelt

DEC 7TH 1941



**AMERICA
GOES TO
WAR**

**President Franklin D. Roosevelt's
Messages to Congress
Declarations of War
The President's First Report of War
The First White Paper**

*Official Documents, Events, and Negotiations Leading
to War, and a Background for Understanding How and
Why We Went to War and What We Are Fighting For.*

**CORDELL HULL
FRANK KNOX**

**WINSTON CHURCHILL
JAMES MONROE**

COMPILED AND EDITED by HAROLD L. HITCHENS, B. A., M. A.

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THE AMERICAN'S CREED



I believe in the United States of America as a Government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies.



This statement of American principles was written by William Tyler Page, Clerk of the U. S. House of Representatives, in 1917, and adopted by the House of Representatives, on behalf of the American People, April 3, 1918.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

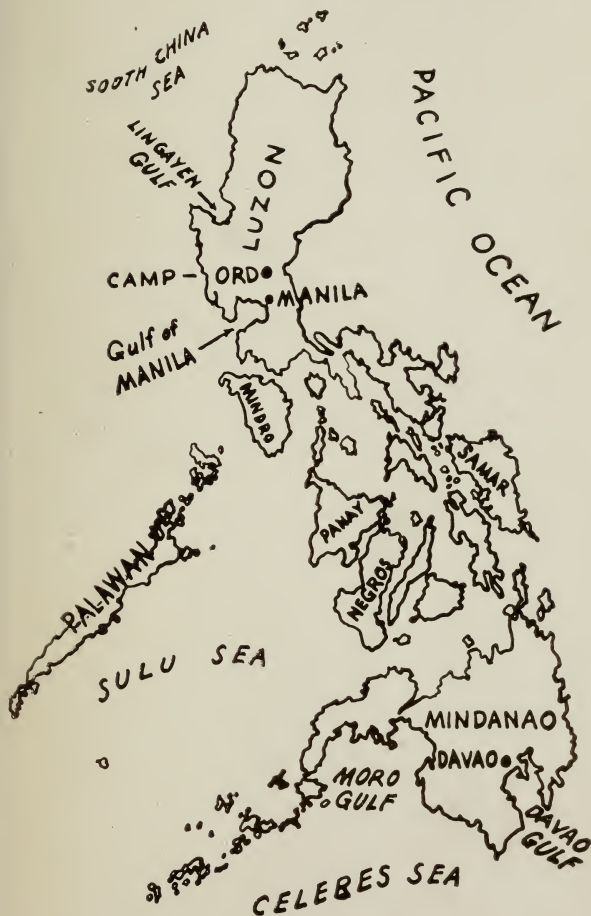
	PAGE
The Spirit of 1941.....	1
The American's Creed.....	4
Introduction	8
War!	10
Background of War with Japan.....	13
President Roosevelt's War Message.....	19
The Nation Responds.....	21
Text of War Resolution.....	22
President's Message to the Japanese Emperor..	23
Secretary Hull's Statement.....	27
Japanese Reply.....	33
Prime Minister Churchill's Speech.....	43
President's First War Report.....	49
Background of War with Germany and Italy..	60
President's Second War Message.....	63
Resolution on War with Germany and Italy....	64
Speeches of Hitler and Mussolini.....	65
German War Declaration.....	68
General Pershing Volunteers.....	71
The Atlantic Charter.....	73
Knox's Statement—Attack on Hawaii.....	75
President Roosevelt's First White Paper.....	84
President's Bill of Rights Address.....	101
America's Interests in the Pacific.....	105
Scene of Strife in the Pacific.....	107
Commodore Perry and Japan.....	109
Japan Before the First World War.....	110
Japan's Pacific Bases.....	114
Japan in the First World War.....	115
Japan After the First World War.....	117
The Monroe Doctrine.....	120
The Declaration of Independence.....	123

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Endpapers courtesy of Works Progress
Administration

	PAGE
Franklin D. Roosevelt.....	2
Map of the Philippine Islands.....	7
President Roosevelt Delivering His War Message to Congress.....	16
Secretary of State Cordell Hull.....	26
Prime Minister Winston Churchill.....	42
General John J. Pershing.....	70
Atlantic Meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill...	72
Map of the Pacific.....	80
Chart of World's Naval Strength.....	112
Japanese Mandate	116

The PHILIPPINES



I N T R O D U C T I O N

MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1941 . . .

This momentous day in the history of our country will always be identified with the "Declaration of War Against Japan," but the terrific emotional impact of the days immediately preceding and following it has been so great that details are likely soon to become obscure in our memories. Treacherous, dastardly, unprovoked, arrogant, unscrupulous, ruthless, wanton—these are just a few of the epithets that have been applied to the deadly attacks on American territory and American people which began at the very moment that Japan's crafty and unscrupulous emissaries were calling on our Secretary of State.

In these pages you will find a record of the negotiations "for peace" which preceded that final diplomatic stratagem. Here are the notes which were exchanged by the two Governments.

The decisive move was inevitable and rapier-fast. Less than twenty-four hours after our radios broadcast the news of the bombing of Oahu, Hawaii, the President appeared before a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives to ask the Congress to declare that a state of war exists between the United States and the Japanese Empire since Sunday, December 7, 1941.

The ultimate step came with equal swiftness. On the morning of Thursday, December 11, 1941, Germany and Italy joined in the war against the United

States as they had already joined in planning Japan's dastardly attack. President Roosevelt at once sent a terse message to the Congress asking for a declaration of war.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's two Messages to the Congress and his first War Report to the American people are features of this volume. Brevity and dramatic restraint place the Messages and War Report among the most inspiring expressions of one of the greatest patriots in American history.

Included also are the writings of Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, and other illustrious leaders. Study them, for they reflect the American way of life and lead to a better understanding of the present crisis.

We are now at war with Germany, Italy, and Japan. It will probably be a long and hard war, costly in "blood, sweat, and tears." It is not enough to know whom we are fighting. It is the duty of every American to know and keep foremost in his mind the reason why we are fighting, and what we are fighting for. As President Roosevelt said, "Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us."

All Americans should read this book, for it is a record of one of the most critical periods of our nation's history. These documents will be an inspiration to us to make every sacrifice needed to win an Allied victory and achieve a new era of peace, justice, and freedom for the whole world.

WAR!

WHOM WE ARE FIGHTING AND WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

The United States has entered on a war unprecedented in its history.

Without warning Japan made an attack upon American possessions and American lives.

At the very moment that the United States was indicating its peaceful intentions by receiving the Japanese envoys, Japanese warships and bombers treacherously attacked our cities and Pacific territories, our warships and bases, our soldiers and peaceful civilians.

American warships were sunk.

American property was destroyed.

Thousands of American soldiers, sailors, and civilians were killed.

And all this without provocation on our part.

We had demonstrated again and again our peaceful intentions.

We had shown our willingness to negotiate on principles of justice and democratic liberty.

We sought only to preserve freedom for the peoples of East Asia threatened by Japanese aggression.

We did not invade peaceful and defenseless countries.

Can Japan so answer the charge of cowardly assault and robbery?

China and Indo-China had already shown too

well how criminally skilled she is in the wicked creed of her Axis partners.

To these robberies Japan added an unbelievably arrogant and dastardly attack on the great American people.

Like a cowardly thug she struck silently and secretly in the dark.

She would seize and destroy all Asia as her Axis partners had ravaged and stolen all Europe.

Germany and Italy then joined Japan in the attack on the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

These Axis Powers boasted of their world-wide and devilish plans for the New Enslavement of all free people.

Did ever robbers confess so insolently?

They made clear to all Americans that we must fight to victory with Britain and our Allies to rescue ourselves, our children, our children's children, and all mankind from the brute rule of barbarian hordes.

The Axis has challenged us.

We Americans will answer that challenge!

We will not forget the unprovoked attacks on the American citizens already mangled by Axis bombs.

We did not seek war.

We asked only for a just peace for all the world.

Hitler and his henchmen would have none of that.

They wanted war, total war.

We Americans will give Germany, Italy, and Japan all that these ruthless and blood-thirsty aggressors asked for and more—more than they ever dreamed of!

WAR!

The Axis Powers shall learn what it means to arouse the unbeatable might of America.

They shall learn from our capacities for war which they could not match in a thousand years.

They shall learn from our navy sworn to avenge Pearl Harbor.

They shall learn from our soldiers remembering their slaughtered comrades.

They shall learn from endless flights of dauntless airmen spurred on by the memory of Hickam Field.

And, above all, they shall learn an unforgettable lesson from the united and undaunted spirit of an undefeated and free people rallied to a man behind an army, a navy and an air force that knows only victorious wars.

In the past we have been separated in our opinions on many policies, foreign and domestic.

But now we are united Americans, unswervingly supporting our country, our President, and our government.

Our man power, materials, capital and labor shall forge an invincible weapon for our armed forces.

Our differences are laid aside and we remember with sublime faith in our country and our beloved flag only the high spirit of our fathers.

Again and again that spirit has triumphed over strong enemies that dared attack our liberties.

And in that spirit we pledge ourselves, as sons of Washington and Jefferson, of Jackson, and of Lincoln and Lee, to carry the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph over the Axis banners of darkness for our liberties and the liberties of mankind.

We are in this war and we will win!

Victory is ours.

THE BACKGROUND OF WAR WITH JAPAN

Throughout the last ten years, the history of American-Japanese relations and Japanese aggressions shows clearly the steps which led to Japan's unprovoked attack on American possessions on December 7, 1941. These ten years also show a series of international aggressions, begun by the Japanese with the Mukden incident of 1931, which from our present point of view constitute a period of undeclared war culminating in overt hostilities in China in 1937, and in the Pacific in 1941.

On September 18, 1931, Mukden, Manchuria, was the scene of the opening of this drama. Japanese troops entered the city, and the forcible seizure of Manchuria was begun. Later a puppet state, Manchukuo, was set up by the Japanese.

On January 27, 1932, Japanese forces were landed in Shanghai. Later they were withdrawn.

On November 5, 1936, after tension with the Soviet Union had arisen from that country's friendship for China, Japan joined with Germany and Italy in an agreement to combat communism as manifested in the Third International, or the Comintern.

On July 7, 1937, there occurred an incident which the Japanese used to begin an undeclared and savage war against China. Outside Peking Chinese and Japanese troops clashed in an incident provoked by the Japanese. The war was marked by wholesale bombings of civilians in Chinese cities.

On July 16, 1937, a fourteen-point policy was announced by Secretary Hull summarizing the policy of the United States in its dealings with foreign powers. Upon this statement have been based subsequent American dealings with Japan. In the Far East, according to a statement made later by Secretary Hull, American policy was aimed at equality of opportunity, respect for national sovereignty,

and the faithful observance of treaties as bases of a lasting international order. Therefore evacuation of China by Japanese forces was asked for continuously by the United States. The Japanese, however, maintained with increasing threats of violence that the white race must cede Oceania to Asiatics, and that Japan had a "natural right" to China and any other part of the Far East Japan wished to consider within its sphere of influence.

On December 12, 1937, the United States gunboat *Panay*, lying peacefully in the Yangtze river, was attacked by Japanese planes and sunk. Two people were killed. The United States accepted payment from Japan as a peaceful settlement of this incident.

On December 30, 1938, a note was sent to Japan by the United States, demanding that traditional American rights in China be respected. At the same time the United States offered to participate in a conference to settle Asiatic issues. The Japanese did not accept this offer.

On July 26, 1939, the United States gave notice, as required by international law, that it intended to abrogate its commercial treaty with Japan in view of Japan's continued aggressions in Asia.

On September 27, 1940, after the European war had been going on for a year, Japan announced its full partnership in the Rome-Berlin axis, its consequent alignment with the forces of fascism against the democratic nations.

On October 12, 1940, the fact that tension was high was evidenced by the urging of the United States government that Americans in China and Japan should return home.

On July 25, 1941, began a series of economic steps taken by the United States to apply pressure against the Japanese and to stop the broad stream of war supplies which was flowing from the United States to Japan, aiding her in her attack on China and reinforcing her threats against the Dutch East

Indies, French Indo-China, and Thailand (Siam). Japanese assets in the United States were frozen, thus effectively ending trade between the two countries. Great Britain joined in this action, and Japan retaliated by freezing American and British assets in Japan.

On July 28, 1941, however, Japan defied the threat of American economic pressures by forcing French Indo-China to allow Japanese forces to land, occupy bases, and completely dominate the country.

On July 30, 1941, Japan further showed defiance by bombing the United States gunboat *Tutuila* at Chungking. This incident was allowed to pass with an apology from Japan.

On August 1, 1941, President Roosevelt issued an order forbidding Americans to ship aviation fuel to Japan.

On August 4, 1941, Japanese steamship service between Japan and the United States was stopped by Japan.

On August 28, 1941, a personal appeal from Premier Konoye of Japan, asking for peace, was received by President Roosevelt. As a result diplomatic conversations, exploratory in nature and aiming at a peaceful settlement of points at issue, were resumed.

On November 15, 1941, when it became apparent that no real settlement could be reached as long as Japan insisted on her right to dominate Asia by force of arms and the United States retained its traditional friendship with China, a special emissary was sent by Japan, presumably to aid Ambassador Nomura in carrying on the diplomatic conversations. It is apparent at the present time that Japan's aim was to gain time to prepare a surprise attack on the United States under the guise of wishing to continue friendly relations and attempting to secure peace. This ambassador, Saburo Kurusu, arrived by plane.



"WITH THE UNBOUNDED DETERMINATION OF
OUR PEOPLE . . . WE WILL GAIN THE
INEVITABLE TRIUMPH"



President Roosevelt Delivering His War Message to Congress, December 8, 1941, with Supreme Court Justices, Cabinet Officers, and a Crowded Gallery Among His Hearers.

On November 25, 1941, however, while these talks were still being continued in a last-hope effort at peaceful settlement, the United States received news that Japan was concentrating troops in Indo-China in such a manner that an attack on Thailand seemed clearly indicated. Previously, the United States and Great Britain had informed Japan that they would resist such an attack. Nevertheless the State department continued the diplomatic conversations.

On November 26, 1941, the Japanese diplomats were handed a formal memorandum by Secretary Hull. This memorandum stated once more the basic American principles outlined above and their implications so far as the Far East question was concerned.

On December 2, 1941, the State department formally asked Japan to state its intentions in regard to its concentration of troops in Indo-China. This inquiry was made at the request of President Roosevelt.

On December 6, 1941, in a final appeal to Japan for peace between the two nations, President Roosevelt sent a personal note to Emperor Hirohito.

On December 7, at the very time that Secretary Hull was receiving Japan's reply to the notes of November 26 and December 2, which he termed highly insulting, a sudden and devastating attack was made upon the Hawaiian Islands, Wake, and Guam. On December 8 Manila was bombed. Meanwhile British positions were also attacked, including Singapore and Northern Malaya and Japan began an invasion of Thailand which met little resistance. Japan had by an act of aggression made a declaration of war by the United States inevitable. Britain and her allies, including the Netherlands and the other refugee governments in London, also declared war on Japan. Nicaragua, Costa Rica and many other Latin American countries quickly followed suit.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S WAR MESSAGE

Text of message to Congress, December 8, 1941, following the unprovoked Japanese attack on the United States.

To the Congress of the United States:

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its government and its emperor, looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific.

Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the secretary of state a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time, the Japanese government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition, American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese government also launched an attack against Malaya.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S WAR MESSAGE

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hongkong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

This morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions, and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.

As commander-in-chief of the army and navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost, but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounding determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December Seventh, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE NATION RESPONDS

War on Japan was declared by the Congress of the United States shortly before 1 P. M., December 8, 1941, following a brief address by President Roosevelt before the 77th Congress in joint session.

The two houses of Congress convened separately at 12 o'clock, Eastern Standard Time, to vote authorization of the joint session. The Senators then proceeded to the House chamber where, shortly after 12:30 o'clock, the President began his address.

The Senate-House committee, acting as escort to the President, preceded him into the House chamber. Then a thunderous burst of applause as the President appeared and approached the speaker's stand, supported by his son, James, Marine captain, who was in uniform. Then a still louder outburst after the President was presented to the assemblage by Speaker Sam Rayburn. Members of Congress and spectators, jamming the chamber to its four corners, loudly applauded at frequent intervals while the President spoke. He began his address at 12:33 P. M. and spoke briefly, quickly reaching this final paragraph:

"I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire."

Then a thunderous burst of cheering. Among all the hundreds of men there assembled, representing the will and opinion of the American people, there was scarcely a whisper of dissent.

Resolutions had already been prepared for presentation to, and immediate adoption by, both houses of Congress. The vote was unanimous in the Senate—82 to 0—and well-nigh unanimous in the House—388 to 1. The one dissenter was Repre-

sentative Jeannette Rankin of Montana, who also voted against entry into the First World War.

Thus, at long last, for the people of the United States, the Second World War ceased to be a mere newspaper headline and became a grim reality.

But the people were ready. With a unity akin to that displayed by their representatives, they stood shoulder to shoulder with their President, ready to give their all that liberty and freedom might prevail in the great struggle now thrust upon them.

TEXT OF WAR RESOLUTION

The War Resolution voted by Congress, December 8, 1941.

"Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Japanese government and the government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same.

"Whereas, the Imperial Japanese government has committed unprovoked acts of war against the government and the people of the United States of America;

"Therefore, be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

"That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Japanese government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and the President is hereby authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the government to carry on war against the Japanese government; and, to bring the conflict to a successful termination, all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE JAPANESE EMPEROR

This message was dispatched by President Roosevelt, December 6, 1941, the day before the sudden Japanese attack.

"Almost a century ago, the President of the United States addressed to the Emperor of Japan a message extending an offer of friendship of the people of the United States to the people of Japan. That offer was accepted, and in the long period of unbroken peace and friendship which has followed, our respective nations, through the virtues of their peoples and the wisdom of their rulers, have prospered and have substantially helped humanity.

EMERGENCY IN FORMATION

"Only in situations of extraordinary importance to our two countries need I address to Your Majesty messages on matters of State. I feel I should now so address you, because of the deep and far-reaching emergency which appears to be in formation.

"Developments are occurring in the Pacific area which threaten to deprive each of our nations, and all humanity, of the beneficial influence of the long peace between our two countries. Those developments contain tragic possibilities.

PEACE IN PACIFIC SOUGHT

"The people of the United States, believing in peace and in the right of nations to live and let live, have eagerly watched the conversations between our two governments, during these past months. We have hoped for a termination of the present conflict between Japan and China. We have hoped that a peace of the Pacific could be consummated in such a way that nationalities of many diverse peoples could exist, side by side, without fear of invasion; that

MESSAGE TO EMPEROR

unbearable burdens of armaments could be lifted for them all; and that all peoples would resume commerce without discrimination against or in favor of any nation.

"I am certain that it will be clear to your Majesty, as it is to me, that in seeking these great objectives, both Japan and the United States should agree to eliminate any form of military threat that seemed essential to the attainment of the high objectives.

REVIEWS JAPANESE MOVES

"More than a year ago, your Majesty's government concluded an agreement with the Vichy Government, by which five or six thousand Japanese troops were permitted to enter into Northern French Indo-China, for the protection of Japanese troops, which were operating against China further north. And this Spring and Summer, the Vichy Government permitted further Japanese military forces to enter into Southern French Indo-China for the common defense of French Indo-China. I think I am correct in saying that no attack has been made upon Indo-China, nor that any has been contemplated.

"During the past few weeks it has become clear to the world that Japanese military, naval and air forces have been sent to Southern Indo-China, in such large numbers as to create a reasonable doubt on the part of other nations that this continuing concentration in Indo-China is not defensive in its character.

"Because these continuing concentrations in Indo-China have reached such large proportions and because they extend now to the Southeast and the Southwest corners of that peninsula, it is only reasonable that the people of the Philippines, of the hundreds of islands of the East Indies, of Malaya, and of Thailand itself are asking themselves whether these forces of Japan are preparing or intending to

MESSAGE TO EMPEROR

make attack in one or more of these many directions.

"I am sure that your majesty will understand that the fear of all these peoples is a legitimate fear, in as much as it involves their peace and their national existence. I am sure that your majesty will understand why the people of the United States, in such large numbers, look askance at the establishment of military, naval and air bases, manned and equipped so greatly as to constitute armed forces capable of measures of offense.

SITUATION IS UNTHINKABLE

"It is clear that a continuance of such a situation is unthinkable.

"None of the peoples, whom I have spoken of above, can sit either indefinitely or permanently on a keg of dynamite.

"There is absolutely no thought, on the part of the United States, of invading Indo-China, if every Japanese soldier or sailor were to be withdrawn therefrom.

"I think that we can obtain the same assurance from the governments of the East Indies, the Governments of Malaya and the Government of Thailand. I would even undertake to ask for the same assurance on the part of the Government of China. Thus, a withdrawal of the Japanese forces from Indo-China would result in the assurance of peace throughout the whole of the South Pacific area.

"I address myself to Your Majesty at this moment in the fervent hope that Your Majesty may, as I am doing, give thought in this definite emergency to ways of dispelling the dark clouds. I am confident that both of us, for the sake of the peoples not only of our own great countries, but for the sake of humanity in neighboring territories, have a sacred duty to restore traditional amity and prevent further death and destruction in the world."



Cordell Hume

SECRETARY HULL'S STATEMENT ON THE TREACHEROUS JAPANESE ATTACK

Japan has made a treacherous and utterly unprovoked attack on the United States.

At the very moment when representatives of the Japanese government were discussing with representatives of this government at the request of the former, principles and courses of peace, the armed forces of Japan were preparing and assembling at various strategic points to launch new attacks and new aggressions upon nations and peoples with which Japan was professedly at peace, including the United States.

I am releasing the Japanese reply, which was handed to me by the Japanese ambassador today.

Before the Japanese ambassador delivered this final statement from his government, the treacherous attack upon the United States had taken place.

This government has stood for all the principles that underlie fair dealing, peace, law and order, and justice between nations, and has steadfastly striven to promote and maintain that state of relationship between itself and all other nations.

It is now apparent to the whole world that Japan in its recent professions of a desire for peace has been infamously false and fraudulent.

The text of the American note handed the Japanese on November 26 was in two parts—an oral statement and an outline of a proposed basis for agreement between the United States and Japan.

It follows:

(The Oral Note)

The representatives of the government of the United States and of the government of Japan have been carrying on during the past several months

SECRETARY HULL

informal and exploratory conversations for the purpose of arriving at a settlement if possible of questions relating to the entire Pacific area based upon the principles of peace, law and order, and fair dealing among nations.

These principles include the principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations; the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; the principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment, and the principle of reliance upon international co-operation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies and for improvement of international conditions by peaceful methods and processes.

Recently the Japanese ambassador has stated that the Japanese government is desirous of continuing the conversations directed toward a comprehensive and peaceful settlement in the Pacific area.

On November 20 the Japanese ambassador communicated to the Secretary of State proposals in regard to temporary measures to be taken respectively by the government of Japan and by the government of the United States.

The government of the United States most earnestly desires to contribute to the promotion and maintenance of peace and stability in the Pacific area.

With this object in view the government of the United States offers for the consideration of the Japanese government a plan of a broad but simple settlement covering the entire Pacific area as one practical exemplification of a program which this government envisages as something to be worked out during our further conversations.

The plan therein suggested represents an effort to bridge the gap between our draft of June 21, 1941, and the Japanese draft of September 25 by making a new approach to the essential problems underlying a comprehensive Pacific settlement.

(The second part, entitled "Outline of Proposed Basis for Agreement Between the United States and Japan"):

Section I—Draft mutual declaration of policy.

The government of the United States and the government of Japan, both being solicitous for the peace of the Pacific, affirm that their national policies are directed toward lasting and extensive peace throughout the Pacific area, that they have no territorial designs in that area, that they have no intention of threatening other countries or of using military force aggressively against any neighboring nation, and that, accordingly, in their national policies they will actively support and give practical application to the following fundamental principles upon which their relations with each other and with all other governments are based:

(1) The principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations.

• (2) The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

(3) The principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment.

(4) The principle of reliance upon international co-operation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies and for improvement of international conditions by peaceful methods and processes.

The government of Japan and the government of the United States have agreed that toward eliminating chronic political instability, preventing recurrent economic collapse, and providing a basis for peace, they will actively support and practically apply the following principles in their economic relations with each other and with other nations and peoples:

(1) The principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations.

(2) The principle of international economic co-

operation and abolition of extreme nationalism as expressed in excessive trade restrictions.

(3) The principle of non-discriminatory access by all nations to raw material supplies.

(4) The principle of full protection of the interests of consuming countries and populations as regards the operation of international commodity agreements.

(5) The principle of establishment of such institutions and arrangements of international finance as may lend aid to the essential enterprises and the continuous development of all countries and may permit payments through processes of trade consonant with the welfare of all countries.

Section II—Steps to be taken by the government of the United States and by the government of Japan.

The government of the United States and the government of Japan propose to take steps as follows:

1. The government of the United States and the government of Japan will endeavor to conclude a multilateral nonaggression pact among the British empire, China, Japan, the Netherlands, the Soviet Union, Thailand and the United States.

2. Both governments will endeavor to conclude among the American, British, Chinese, Japanese, the Netherlands and Thai governments an agreement whereunder each of the governments would pledge itself to respect the territorial integrity of French Indo-China and, in the event that there should develop a threat to the territorial integrity of Indo-China, to enter into immediate consultation with a view to taking such measures as may be deemed necessary and advisable to meet the threat in question. Such agreement would provide also that each of the governments party to the agreement would not seek or accept preferential treatment in its trade or economic relations with Indo-China and would use its influence to obtain for each of the

signatories equality of treatment in trade and commerce with French Indo-China.

3. The government of Japan will withdraw all military, naval, air and police forces from China and from Indo-China.

4. The government of the United States and the government of Japan will not support—militarily, politically, economically—any government or regime in China other than the national government of the republic of China, with the capital temporarily at Chungking.

5. Both governments will give up all extraterritorial rights in China, including rights and interests in and with regard to international settlements and concessions, and rights under the Boxer protocol of 1901. Both governments will endeavor to obtain the agreement of the British and other governments to give up extraterritorial rights in China, including rights in international settlements and in concessions held under the Boxer protocol of 1901.

6. The government of the United States and the government of Japan will enter into negotiations for the conclusion between the United States and Japan of a trade agreement, based upon reciprocal most-favored-nation treatment and reduction of trade barriers by both countries, including an undertaking by the United States to bind raw silk on the free list.

7. The government of the United States and the government of Japan will, respectively, remove the freezing restrictions on Japanese funds in the United States and on American funds in Japan.

8. Both governments will agree upon a plan for the stabilization of the dollar-yen rate, with the allocation of funds adequate for this purpose, half to be supplied by Japan and half by the United States.

9. Both governments will agree that no agreement which either has concluded with any third power or powers shall be interpreted by it in such

a way as to conflict with the fundamental purpose of this agreement, the establishment and preservation of peace throughout the Pacific area.

10. Both governments will use their influence to cause other governments to adhere to and to give practical application to the basic political and economic principles set forth in this agreement.

LINE-UP OF WORLD WAR II

DECEMBER 11, 1941

THE ALLIES

Australia	*Guatemala
Belgium	Haiti
*Bolivia	*Honduras
Canada	Netherlands Indies
China	New Zealand
Costa Rica	Nicaragua
*Cuba	*Panama
Dominican Republic	Poland
*El Salvador	South Africa
Free France	Soviet Union
Great Britain	United States
Greece	

THE AXIS

Finland	Japan
Germany	Manchukuo
Hungary	Rumania
Italy	Slovakia

*Have declared war on Japan only.

JAPANESE REPLY TO SECRETARY HULL'S PLAN OF SETTLEMENT FOR THE PACIFIC DISPUTE

This reply, branded by Secretary Hull as "infamously false and fraudulent," was handed to the American Government by the Japanese Ambassador, Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, even while Japan was launching a devastating, unprovoked attack on the United States.

1. The government of Japan, prompted by a genuine desire to come to an amicable understanding with the government of the United States in order that the two countries by their joint efforts may secure the peace of the Pacific area and thereby contribute toward the realization of world peace, has continued negotiations with the utmost sincerity since April last with the government of the United States regarding the adjustment and advancement of Japanese-American relations and the stabilization of the Pacific area.

The Japanese government has the honor to state frankly its views concerning the claims the American government has persistently maintained, as well as the measures the United States and Great Britain have taken toward Japan during these eight months.

2. It is the immutable policy of the Japanese government to insure the stability of East Asia and to promote world peace and thereby to enable all nations to find each its proper place in the world.

Ever since China affair broke out, owing to the failure on the part of China to comprehend Japan's true intentions, the Japanese government has striven for the restoration of peace and it has consistently exerted its best efforts to prevent the extension of war-like disturbances.

JAPANESE REPLY

It was also to that end that in September last year Japan concluded the tripartite pact with Germany and Italy.

However, both the United States and Great Britain have resorted to every possible measure to assist the Chungking regime so as to obstruct the establishment of a general peace between Japan and China, interfering with Japan's constructive endeavors toward the stabilization of east Asia.

Exerting pressure on the Netherlands East Indies, or menacing French Indo-China, they have attempted to frustrate Japan's aspiration to the ideal of common prosperity in co-operation with these regions.

Furthermore, when Japan in accordance with its protocol with France took measures of joint defense of French Indo-China, both American and British governments, willfully misinterpreting it as a threat to their own possessions, and inducing the Netherlands government to follow suit, enforced the assets freezing order, thus severing diplomatic relations with Japan.

While manifesting thus an obviously hostile attitude, these countries have strengthened their military preparations perfecting an encirclement of Japan, and have brought about a situation which endangers the very existence of the empire.

CLAIM U. S. INVITED TO PACIFIC PARLEY

Nevertheless, to facilitate a speedy settlement, the premier of Japan proposed, in August last, to meet the President of the United States for a discussion of important problems between the two countries covering the entire Pacific area.

However, the American government, while accepting in principle the Japanese proposal, insisted that the meeting should take place after an agreement of view had been reached on fundamental and essential questions.

JAPANESE REPLY

3. Subsequently, on September 25, the Japanese government submitted a proposal based on the formula proposed by the American government, taking fully into consideration past American claims and also incorporating Japanese views.

Repeated discussions proved of no avail in producing readily an agreement of view. The present cabinet, therefore, submitted a revised proposal, moderating still further the Japanese claims regarding the principal points of difficulty in the negotiations and endeavored strenuously to reach a settlement.

But the American government, adhering steadfastly to its original assertions, failed to display in the slightest degree a spirit of conciliation. The negotiations made no progress.

Therefore, the Japanese government, with a view to doing its utmost for averting a crisis in Japanese-American relations, submitted on November 20 still another proposal in order to arrive at an equitable solution of the more essential and urgent questions which, simplifying its previous proposal, stipulated the following points:

(1) The governments of Japan and the United States undertake not to dispatch armed forces into any of the regions, excepting French Indo-China, in the southeastern Asia and the southern Pacific area.

(2) Both governments shall co-operate with the view of securing the acquisition in the Netherlands East Indies of those goods and commodities of which the two countries are in need.

(3) Both governments mutually undertake to restore commercial relations to those prevailing prior to the freezing of assets.

The government of the United States shall supply Japan the required quantity of oil.

(4) The government of the United States undertakes not to resort to measures and actions preju-

JAPANESE REPLY

dicial to the endeavors for the restoration of general peace between Japan and China.

(5) The Japanese government undertakes to withdraw troops now stationed in French Indo-China upon either the restoration of peace between Japan and China or the establishment of an equitable peace in the Pacific area, and it is prepared to remove the Japanese troops in the southern part of French Indo-China to the northern part upon the conclusion of the present agreement.

CLAIM U. S. SPURNED CHINA PEACE FORMULA

As regards China, the Japanese government, while expressing its readiness to accept the offer of the President of the United States to act as "introducer" of peace between Japan and China as was previously suggested, asked for an understanding on the part of the United States to do nothing prejudicial to the restoration of Sino-Japanese peace when the two parties have commenced direct negotiations.

The American government not only rejected the above-mentioned new proposal, but made known its intention to continue its aid to Chiang Kai-shek; and in spite of its suggestion mentioned above, withdrew the offer of the President to act as so-called "introducer" of peace between Japan and China, pleading that time was not yet ripe for it.

Finally on November 26, in an attitude to impose upon the Japanese government those principles it has persistently maintained, the American government made a proposal totally ignoring Japanese claims, which is a source of profound regret to the Japanese government.

4. From the beginning of the present negotiation the Japanese government has always maintained an attitude of fairness and moderation, and did its best to reach a settlement, for which it made all possible concessions often in spite of great difficulties.

As for the China question which constitutes an

JAPANESE REPLY

important subject of the negotiation, the Japanese government showed a most conciliatory attitude.

As for the principle of non-discrimination in international commerce, advocated by the American government, the Japanese government expressed its desire to see the said principle applied throughout the world, and declared that along with the actual practice of this principle in the world, the Japanese government would endeavor to apply the same in the Pacific area, including China, and made it clear that Japan had no intention of excluding from China economic activities of third powers pursued on an equitable basis. Furthermore, as regards the question of withdrawing troops from French Indo-China, the Japanese government even volunteered, as mentioned above, to carry out an immediate evacuation of troops from southern French Indo-China as a measure of easing the situation.

It is presumed that the spirit of conciliation exhibited to the utmost decree by the Japanese government in all these matters is fully appreciated by the American government.

CLAIM U. S. DISREGARDED REALITIES

On the other hand, the American government, always holding fast to theories in disregard of realities, and refusing to yield an inch on its impractical principles, caused undue delay in negotiation.

It is difficult to understand this attitude of the American government and the Japanese government desires to call the attention of the American government especially to the following points:

1. The American government advocates in the name of world peace those principles favorable to it and urges upon the Japanese government the acceptance thereof.

The peace of the world may be brought about only by discovering a mutually acceptable formula

through recognition of the reality of the situation and mutual appreciation of one another's position.

An attitude such as ignores realities and imposes one's selfish views upon others will scarcely serve the purpose of facilitating the consummation of negotiations.

Of the various principles put forward by the American government as a basis of the Japanese-American agreement, there are some which the Japanese government is ready to accept in principle, but in view of the world's actual condition it seems only a Utopian ideal on the part of the American government to attempt to force their immediate adoption.

Again, the proposal to conclude a multilateral non-aggression pact between Japan, United States, Great Britain, China, the Soviet Union, the Netherlands and Thailand, which is patterned after the old concept of collective security, is far removed from the realities of East Asia.

2. The American proposal contained a stipulation which states: "Both governments will agree that no agreement, which either has concluded with any third power or powers, shall be interpreted by it in such a way as to conflict with the fundamental purpose of this agreement, the establishment and preservation of peace throughout the Pacific area."

It is presumed that the above provision has been proposed with a view to restrain Japan from fulfilling its obligations under the tripartite pact when the United States participates in the war in Europe, and, as such, it cannot be accepted by the Japanese government.

The American government, obsessed with its own views and opinions, may be said to be scheming for the extension of the war.

While it seeks, on the one hand, to secure its rear by stabilizing the Pacific area, it is engaged, on the other hand, in aiding Great Britain and preparing

JAPANESE REPLY

to attack, in the name of self-defense, Germany and Italy, two powers that are striving to establish a new order in Europe.

Such a policy is totally at variance with the many principles upon which the American government proposes to found the stability of the Pacific area through peaceful means.

3. Whereas the American government, under the principles it rigidly upholds, objects to settle international issues through military pressure, it is exercising in conjunction with Great Britain and other nations pressure by economic power.

Recourse to such pressure as a means of dealing with international relations should be condemned, as it is at times more inhumane than military pressure.

4. It is impossible not to reach the conclusion that the American government desires to maintain and strengthen, in coalition with Great Britain and other powers, its dominant position it has hitherto occupied not only in China but in other areas of East Asia.

It is a fact of history that the countries of East Asia for the past hundred years or more have been compelled to observe the status quo under the Anglo-American policy of imperialistic exploitation and to sacrifice themselves to the prosperity of the two nations.

The Japanese government cannot tolerate the perpetuation of such a situation since it directly runs counter to Japan's fundamental policy to enable all nations to enjoy each its proper place in the world.

CLAIM JAP POSITION DESTROYED

The stipulation proposed by the American government relative to French Indo-China is a good exemplification of the above-mentioned American policy.

That the six countries—Japan, the United States, Great Britain, The Netherlands, China and Thailand—excepting France, should undertake among

JAPANESE REPLY

themselves to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of French Indo-China and equality of treatment in trade and commerce would be tantamount to placing that territory under the joint guarantee of the governments of those six countries.

Apart from the fact that such a proposal totally ignores the position of France, it is unacceptable to the Japanese government in that such an arrangement cannot but be considered as an extension to French Indo-China of a system similar to the nine-power treaty structure which is the chief factor responsible for the present predicament of East Asia.

5. All the items demanded of Japan by the American government regarding China, such as wholesale evacuation of troops or unconditional application of the principle of non-discrimination in international commerce, ignored the actual conditions of China, and are calculated to destroy Japan's position as the stabilizing factor of East Asia.

The attitude of the American government in demanding Japan not to support militarily, politically or economically any regime other than the regime of Chungking, disregarding thereby the existence of the Nanking government, shatters the very basis of the present negotiation.

This demand of the American government, failing as it does, in line with its above-mentioned refusal to cease from aiding the Chungking regime, demonstrates clearly the intention of the American government to obstruct the restoration of normal relations between Japan and China and the return of peace to East Asia.

In brief, the American proposal contains certain acceptable items such as those concerning commerce, including the conclusion of a trade agreement, mutual removal of the freezing restrictions and stabilization of yen and dollar exchange, or the abolition of extraterritorial rights in China.

On the other hand, however, the proposal in ques-

JAPANESE REPLY

tion ignores Japan's sacrifices in the four years of the China affair, menaces the empire's existence itself and disparages its honor and prestige.

Therefore, viewed in its entirety, the Japanese government regrets that it cannot accept the proposal as a basis of negotiation.

6. The Japanese government, in its desire for an early conclusion of the negotiation, proposed simultaneously with the conclusion of the Japanese-American negotiation agreements to be signed with Great Britain and other interested countries.

The proposal was accepted by the American government. However, since the American government has made the proposal of November 26 as a result of frequent consultation with Great Britain, Australia, the Netherlands and Chungking, and presumably by catering to the wishes of the Chungking regime in the questions of China, it must be concluded that all these countries are at one with the United States in ignoring Japan's position.

7. Obviously it is the intention of the American government to conspire with Great Britain and other countries to obstruct Japan's efforts toward the establishment of peace through the creation of a new order in East Asia, and especially to preserve Anglo-American rights and interests by keeping Japan and China at war.

This intention has been revealed clearly during the course of the present negotiations. Thus, the earnest hope of the Japanese government to adjust Japanese-American relations and to preserve and promote the peace of the Pacific through co-operation with the American government has finally been lost.

The Japanese government regrets to have to notify hereby the American government that in view of the attitude of the American government it cannot but consider that it is impossible to reach an agreement through further negotiations.



Winston S. Churchill

"THE GREAT DEMOCRACIES FACE THEIR TASK WITH WHATEVER STRENGTH GOD MAY GIVE THEM"

Text of Prime Minister Churchill's speech in the House of Commons, December 8, 1941, announcing a state of war between Britain and Japan.

As soon as I heard last night that Japan had attacked the United States I felt it necessary that Parliament should be immediately summoned.

It is indispensable to our system of government that Parliament should play a full part in all the important acts of state, and at all crucial moments in conduct of the war, and I am glad to see so many members have been able to be in their places in spite of the shortness of notice.

With the full approval of the nation and of the empire, I pledged the word of Great Britain about a month ago that should the United States be involved in war with Japan, a British declaration of war would follow within the hour.

Therefore I spoke to President Roosevelt on the Atlantic telephone last night with a view to arranging the timing of our respective declarations.

The President told me he would this morning send a message to Congress, which, as is well known, can alone make a declaration of war on behalf of the United States.

BRITAIN KEEPS PLEDGE

I then answered him we would follow immediately. However, it soon appeared that British territory in Malaya had also been the object of Japanese attack and later on it was announced from Tokyo that the Japanese high command—a curious form

—not the Imperial Japanese government but the Japanese high command—had declared that a state of war existed between them and Great Britain and the United States.

That being so there was no need to wait for the declaration of Congress. In any case, American time is nearly six hours behind ours. The cabinet which met at 12:30 today, therefore authorized an immediate declaration of war upon Japan. Instructions to this effect were sent to His Majesty's ambassador in Tokyo and a communication was dispatched to the Japanese charge d'affaires at 7 o'clock today to this effect.

"Sir:

"On the evening of December 7 His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom learned that the Japanese forces, without a previous warning either in the form of a declaration of war or of an ultimatum with a conditional declaration of war, had attempted a landing on the coast of Malaya and had bombed Singapore and Hongkong.

"In view of these wanton acts of unprovoked aggression, committed in flagrant violation of international law and particularly of article one of the Third League Convention relative to the opening of hostilities, to which both Japan and the United Kingdom are parties, His Majesty's ambassador in Tokyo has been instructed to inform the imperial Japanese government in the name of His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom, that a state of war exists between the two countries."

HOSTILITIES ALREADY BEGUN

Meanwhile, hostilities had already begun. The Japanese began a landing on British territory in Northern Malaya at about 6 o'clock yesterday morning, and they were immediately engaged by our forces which were in readiness.

Home office measures against Japanese nationals were set in motion at 10:45 last night. The House

will see that no time has been lost and that we actually are ahead of our engagements. The Royal Netherlands government at once marked their solidarity with Great Britain and the United States.

At 3 a. m. the Netherlands minister informed the foreign office that his government was telling the Japanese government that, in view of hostile acts perpetrated by Japanese forces against two powers with whom the Netherlands maintained particularly close relations, they considered as a consequence that a state of war now exists between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Japan.

I do not know yet what part Thailand will be called upon to play in this fresh war, but a report has reached us that Japan has landed troops at Singora in Siamese territory not far from the landing they have made on the British side of the frontier.

SENDS MESSAGE TO THAILAND

Meanwhile just before Japan had gone to war with Siam, I had sent the Prime Minister of Siam the following message. It was sent Sunday:

"There is a possibility of imminent invasion of your country. If you are attacked, defend yourself. The preservation of the full independence and sovereignty of Thailand is the British interest and we shall regard an attack on you as an attack on ourselves."

It is worth-while looking for a moment at the manner in which the Japanese have begun their assault upon the English-speaking world. Every circumstance of calculated and characteristic Japanese treachery was employed against the United States.

Japanese envoys Nomura and Kurusu were ordered to prolong their missions in the United States in order to keep conversations going whilst the surprise attack was being prepared to be made before the declaration of war could be delivered.

CHURCHILL'S WAR SPEECH

The President's appeal to the Emperor, which I have no doubt many members have read, reminded him of ancient friendship and of the importance of preserving the peace of the Pacific. This message has received only this base and brutal reply. No one can doubt that every effort to bring about a peaceful solution had been made by the United States and that an immense patience and composure had been shown in the face of the growing Japanese menace.

ISSUE IS JOINED

Now that the issue is joined in the most direct manner, it only remains for two great democracies to face their task with whatever strength God may give them.

We may hold ourselves very fortunate, and I think we may rate our affairs not wholly ill-guided, that we were not attacked alone by Japan in our period of weakness after Dunkirk—or at any time in 1940 before the United States had fully realized the dangers which threatened the whole world and had made large advances in its military preparations.

So precarious and narrow was the margin upon which we then lived that we did not dare to express the sympathy we have all along felt for the heroic people of China. We were even forced for a short time in the summer of 1940 to agree to closing the Burma Road, but later on at the beginning of this year, as soon as we could regather our strength, we reversed that policy, and the House will remember that both I and the foreign secretary have felt able to make increasingly outspoken declarations of friendship for the Chinese people and their great leader, Chiang Kai-shek.

We have always been friends. Last night I cabled to the generalissimo assuring him that henceforward we would face the common foe together, although imperative demands of the war in Europe and Africa

have strained our resources, vast and growing though they are.

BIG WARSHIPS IN ORIENT

The House and the Empire will notice that some of the finest ships in the Royal Navy have reached their stations in the Far East at a very convenient moment.

Every preparation on our part has been made, and I do not doubt we shall give a good account of ourselves.

The closest accord has been established with powerful American forces, both naval and air, and also with strong and efficient forces belonging to the Royal Netherlands government in the Netherlands East Indies. We shall all do our best.

When we think of the insane ambition and insatiable appetite which have caused this vast and melancholy extension of the war, we can only feel that Hitler's madness has infected Japanese minds, and that the root of the evil and its branch must be extirpated together.

STRESSES GRAVITY OF SITUATION

It is of the highest importance that there should be no underrating of the gravity of the new dangers we have to meet, either here or in the United States.

The enemy has attacked with an audacity which may spring from recklessness but which may also spring from a conviction of strength. The ordeal to which the English-speaking world and our heroic Russian allies are being exposed will certainly be hard, especially at the outset, and will probably be long; yet when we look around us upon the somber panorama of the world we have no reason to doubt the justice of our cause or that our strength and will power will be sufficient to sustain it.

We have at least four-fifths of the population of

the world on our side. We are responsible for their safety and for their future.

In the past we have had a light which flickered. In the present we have a light which flames. In the future there will be a light which shines over all the land and sea.

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: it is dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated.

—Thomas Paine (From *THE CRISIS*)
The Pennsylvania Journal Dec. 19,
1776.

Our country! in her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong!

—Stephen Decatur, Toast, at a dinner in his honor at Norfolk, Va., April, 1816. (Mackenzie, *Life of Decatur*, Ch. 14)

Millions for defense but not a cent for tribute.

—Robert Goodloe Harper, Toast, at the dinner given by Congress at Philadelphia, 18 June, 1798, in honor of John Marshall upon his return from France.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S FIRST WAR REPORT

Text of the report on the progress of hostilities with Japan, delivered by radio from the White House, December 9, 1941.

The sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese in the Pacific provide the climax of a decade of international immorality.

Powerful and resourceful gangsters have banded together to make war upon the whole human race. Their challenge has now been flung at the United States of America. The Japanese have treacherously violated the long-standing peace between us.

Many American soldiers and sailors have been killed by enemy action. American ships have been sunk, American airplanes have been destroyed.

THE CHALLENGE ACCEPTED

The Congress and the people of the United States have accepted that challenge.

Together, with our free peoples, we are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our world neighbors in freedom and in common decency, without fear or assault.

I have prepared the full record about past relations with Japan, and it will be submitted to the Congress. It begins with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan 88 years ago. It ends with the visit of two Japanese emissaries to the Secretary of State last Sunday, an hour after Japanese forces had loosed their bombs and machine guns against our flag, our forces and our citizens.

HORROR AT TREACHERY

I can say with utmost confidence that no Americans, today or a thousand years hence, need feel

anything but pride in our patience and our efforts through all the years toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small.

And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special envoys in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

A RECITAL OF EVENTS

In 1931, Japan invaded Manchukuo—without warning.

In 1935, Italy invades Ethiopia—without warning.

In 1938, Hitler occupied Austria—without warning.

In 1939, Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia—without warning.

Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland—without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg—without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece—without warning.

In 1941, the Axis powers attacked Yugoslavia and Greece and they dominated the Balkans—without warning.

In 1941, Hitler invaded Russia—without warning.

And now Japan has attacked Malaya and Thailand—and the United States—without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

HAVE SUFFERED SERIOUS SETBACK

We are now in this war. We are all in it—all the way. Every single man, woman and child is a partner in the most tremendous undertaking of our American history. We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories—the changing fortunes of war.

So far, the news has all been bad. We have suffered a serious setback in Hawaii. Our forces in the Philippines, which include the brave people of that commonwealth, are taking punishment, but are defending themselves vigorously. The reports from Guam and Wake and Midway Islands are still confused, but we must be prepared for the announcement that all these three outposts have been seized.

The casualty lists of these first few days will undoubtedly be large. I deeply feel the anxiety of all families of the men in our armed forces and the relatives of people in cities which have been bombed. I can only give them my solemn promise that they will get news just as quickly as possible.

This government will put its trust in the stamina of the American people, and will give the facts to the public as soon as two conditions have been fulfilled: First, that the information has been definitely and officially confirmed; and, second, that the release of the information at the time it is received will not prove valuable to the enemy directly or indirectly.

Most earnestly I urge my countrymen to reject all rumors. These ugly little hints of complete disaster fly thick and fast in wartime. They have to be examined and appraised.

As an example, I can tell you frankly that until further surveys are made, I have not sufficient in-

formation to state the exact damage which has been done to our naval vessels at Pearl Harbor. Admittedly the damage is serious. But no one can say how serious, until we know how much of this damage can be repaired and how quickly the necessary repairs can be made.

I cite as another example a statement made on Sunday night that a Japanese carrier had been located and sunk off the Canal Zone. And when you hear statements that are attributed to what they call "an authoritative source" you can be reasonably sure that under these war circumstances the "authoritative source" was not any person in authority.

Many rumors and reports which we now hear originate with enemy source. For instance, today the Japanese are claiming that as a result of their one action against Hawaii they have gained naval supremacy in the Pacific. This is an old trick of propaganda which has been used innumerable times by the Nazis. The purpose of such fantastic claims are, of course, to spread fear and confusion among us, and to goad us into revealing military information which our enemies are desperately anxious to obtain.

WE WON'T BE TRAPPED

Our government will not be caught in this obvious trap—and neither will our people.

It must be remembered by each and every one of us that our free and rapid communication must be greatly restricted in wartime. It is not possible to receive full, speedy, accurate reports from distant areas of combat. This is particularly true where naval operations are concerned. For in these days of the marvels of radio it is often impossible for the commanders of various units to report their activities by radio, for the very simple reason that this information would become available to the enemy,

FIRST WAR REPORT

and would disclose their position and their plan of defense or attack.

Of necessity there will be delays in officially confirming or denying reports of operations but we will not hide facts from the country if we know the facts and if the enemy will not be aided by their disclosure.

To all newspapers and radio stations—all those who reach the eyes and ears of the American people—I say this: You have a most grave responsibility to the nation now and for the duration of the war.

WARNS AGAINST RUMORS

If you feel that your government is not disclosing enough of the truth, you have every right to say so. But—in the absence of all the facts, as revealed by official sources—you have no right to deal out unconfirmed reports in such a way as to make people believe they are gospel truth.

Every citizen, in every walk of life, shares this same responsibility. The lives of our soldiers and sailors—the whole future of this nation—depend upon the manner in which each and every one of us fulfills his obligation to our country.

TIME ADVANTAGE TO U. S.

Now a word about the recent past—and the future. A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France, when the whole world first realized the mechanized might which the Axis nations had been building for so many years. America has used this advantage. Knowing that the attack might reach us in all too short a time, we immediately began greatly to increase our industrial strength and our capacity to meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war material to the nations of the world still able to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of

FIRST WAR REPORT

any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been justified.

It has given us time, invaluable time, to build our American assembly lines of production.

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, of shells and equipment—that is what these eighteen months have given us.

But it is all only a beginning of what has to be done. We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits. The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points in both oceans and along both our coast lines and against all the rest of the hemisphere.

PREDICTS LONG WAR

It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we now lay all our plans. That is the yardstick by which we measure what we shall need and demand; money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production—ever-increasing.

The production must be not only for our own Army and Navy and Air Forces. It must reinforce the other armies and navies and air forces fighting the Nazis and the war lords of Japan throughout the Americas and the world.

I have been working today on the subject of production. Your government has decided on two broad policies.

The first is to speed up all existing production by working on a seven day week basis in every war industry, including the production of essential raw materials.

PLANTS TO BE EXPANDED

The second policy, now being put into form, is to rush additions to the capacity of production by

building more new plants, by adding to old plants, and by using the many smaller plants for war needs.

Over the hard road of the past months, we have at times met obstacles and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callousness. That is now all past—and, I am sure, forgotten.

The fact is that the country now has an organization in Washington built around men and women who are recognized experts in their own fields. I think the country knows that the people who are actually responsible in each and every one of these many fields are pulling together with a teamwork that has never before been excelled.

On the road ahead there lies hard work—grueling work—day and night, every hour and every minute.

I was about to add that ahead there lies sacrifice for all of us.

But it is not correct to use that word. The United States does not consider it a sacrifice to do all one can, to give one's best to our nation, when the nation is fighting for its existence and its future life.

It is not a sacrifice for any man, old or young, to be in the Army or the Navy of the United States. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice for the industrialist or the wage earner, the farmer or the shopkeeper, the trainman or the doctor, to pay more taxes, to buy more bonds, to forego extra profits, to work longer or harder at the task for which he is best fitted. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice to do without many things to which we are accustomed if the national defense calls for doing without.

A review this morning leads me to the conclusion that at present we shall not have to curtail the normal articles of food. There is enough food for

FIRST WAR REPORT

all of us and enough left over to send to those who are fighting on the same side with us.

There will be a clear and definite shortage of metals of many kinds for civilian use, for the very good reason that in our increased program we shall need for war purposes more than half of that portion of the principal metals which during the past year have gone into articles for civilian use. We shall have to give up many things entirely.

CONFIDENT OF NATION

I am sure that the people in every part of the nation are prepared in their individual living to win this war. I am sure they will cheerfully help to pay a large part of its financial cost while it goes on. I am sure they will cheerfully give up those material things they are asked to give up.

I am sure that they will retain all those great spiritual things without which we cannot win through.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

"WE MUST NEVER FORGET"

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again." In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years—and, most violently, in the past few days—we have learned a terrible lesson.

It is our obligation to our dead—it is our sacred

FIRST WAR REPORT

obligation to their children and our children—that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation—or any individual—in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-girt hemisphere is not immune from severe attack—that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map.

We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed a brilliant feat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with a great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the Nazi manner is a dirty business. We don't like it—we didn't want to get in it—but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got.

TELLS OF NAZI ROLE

I do not think any American has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes.

Your government knows that for weeks Germany has been telling Japan that if Japan did not attack the United States, Japan would not share in dividing the spoils with Germany when peace came. She was promised by Germany that if she came in she would receive the complete and perpetual control of the whole of the Pacific area—and that means not only the Far East, not only all of the islands in the Pacific, but also a stranglehold on the West Coast of North, Central and South America.

We also know that Germany and Japan are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the

FIRST WAR REPORT

Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers.

That is their simple and obvious grand strategy. That is why the American people must realize that it can be matched only with similar grand strategy.

We must realize for example that Japanese successes against the United States in the Pacific are helpful to German operations in Libya; that any German success against the Caucasus is inevitably an assistance to Japan in her operations against the Dutch East Indies; that a German attack against Algiers or Morocco opens the way to a German attack against South America.

On the other side of the picture we must learn to know that guerilla warfare against the Germans in Serbia helps us; that a successful Russian offensive against the Germans helps us and that British successes on land or sea or in any part of the world strengthen our hands.

Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain and Russia. And Germany puts all the other republics of the Americas into the category of enemies. The people of the hemisphere can be honored by that.

GOAL ABOVE BATTLE

The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers—we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate

FIRST WAR REPORT

the danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the dark hours of this day—and through the dark days that may be yet to come—we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. For, in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well—our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

Damn the torpedoes!

—David Glasgow Farragut,
At the battle of Mobile Bay,
5 Aug., 1864

We give up the fort when there's not a man left to defend it.

—Captain George Croghan, to
General Proctor, Fort Stephenson,
Lower Sandusky, 1 August, 1813

I have not yet begun to fight.

—John Paul Jones, when summoned to surrender as his ship, the *Bonhomme Richard*, was sinking under him in his fight with the British *Serapis*, 23 Sept., 1779.

THE BACKGROUND OF WAR WITH GERMANY AND ITALY

America is at war with Germany and Italy. Hitler and Mussolini declared war on us after their partner Japan treacherously attacked us. According to Axis philosophy no excuse is needed for aggression. We have seen Germany and Italy attack one democratic nation after another with swift and brutal force, until only Britain, Russia, and China were left to wage stubborn and unrelenting war against Nazism and Fascism. America has attempted to maintain its traditional neutrality in a world grown too small for isolation; now, by a series of unprovoked aggressions she has been notified that her existence, too, is at stake. Neutrality is only a thin shell of protection. The events of the last ten years prove this:

In March, 1933, Hitler rose to power in Germany and, by means of lies, brutal violence, threats, and wild promises of world domination, assumed absolute control over the lives of the German people.

In December, 1934, despite all the League of Nations could do, Italy attacked, invaded, and conquered Ethiopia.

In March, 1936, Hitler's militaristic ambition bore its first fruits in the re-occupation and militarization of the Rhineland and the discarding of pledges solemnly given in the Versailles Treaty.

In October, 1936, Germany and Italy formally recognized their natural affinity by forming the Rome-Berlin Axis.

Between 1936 and 1939 Italy and Germany made it possible for Franco to undermine the liberal and legally constituted government of Spain, by sending armed forces and equipment for his use, while the democracies, in an attempt to preserve neutrality, stood by.

In March, 1938, by means of fifth-column tactics and threats, Germany annexed Austria.

In October, 1938, by threats of war, Germany was allowed to annex the Sudetenland, a part of democratic Czecho-Slovakia. In the next few months Germany abrogated her pact with England and France by taking over the rest of Czecho-Slovakia.

In March, 1939, the Nazis seized the district of Memel, Lithuania.

In April, 1939, Mussolini invaded the little mountain kingdom of Albania.

On September 1, 1939, Germany defied England and France and marched into Poland. The Second World War was begun.

In April, 1940, Germany invaded democratic Norway and Denmark, despite their attempts to retain their neutrality as they had done during the First World War.

In May, 1940, in a single terrific drive, Hitler's mechanized forces rolled over Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg, all peace-loving little countries that had been assured again and again by Hitler that he would respect their neutrality.

In June, 1940, when France was sorely beset, Italy, by declaring war, stabbed her neighbor in the back. France was forced to bow to harsh German terms of peace: to surrender two-thirds of her territory to the conqueror and govern the other third according to Hitler's dictates.

In September, 1940, German forces occupied Rumania.

In October, 1940, Italy attacked Greece, but found that small and gallant nation too much for Mussolini's soldiers.

In April, 1941, Germany went to Italy's rescue, annihilated Yugoslavia and Greece and took Bulgaria under Axis control.

In June, 1941, in spite of Hitler's non-aggression pact with Stalin, Germany began an invasion of Soviet Russia. It is still being stubbornly fought off by the indomitable Russian people.

Meanwhile, the United States repealed its arms embargo, traded old destroyers to Britain for bases in the Western Hemisphere, passed the Lease-Lend Act, patrolled western Atlantic waters, and finally partially repealed the Neutrality Act, showing that our government was fully aware that only the ability of Britain and her allies to defeat the common enemy stood between us and attack. We knew our safety was at stake, but remained at peace even when German submarines torpedoed our ships.

Now there is no doubt anywhere. The enemies of democracy in Europe and Asia are the enemies of democracy in the Western Hemisphere. Germany, Italy, and Japan have always known it. Now we know that only if Fascism and Nazism are destroyed can our democratic way of life survive.

The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

—George Washington,
First Inaugural, 1789.

What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling seacoasts . . . Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere.

—Abraham Lincoln, Speech,
Edwardsville, Ill.
13 Sept., 1858

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON WAR WITH GERMANY AND ITALY

Text of the message to Congress, December 11, 1941, after Germany and Italy declared war on the United States.

On the morning of December 11, the government of Germany, pursuing its course of world conquest, declared war against the United States.

The long-known and the long-expected has thus taken place.

The forces endeavoring to enslave the entire world now are moving toward this hemisphere.

Never before has there been a greater challenge to life, liberty and civilization.

Delay invites great danger. Rapid and united effort by all of the peoples of the world who are determined to remain free will insure a world victory of the forces of justice and of righteousness over the forces of savagery and of barbarism.

Italy also has declared war against the United States.

I therefore request the Congress to recognize a state of war between the United States and Germany, and between the United States and Italy.

TEXT OF THE DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST GERMANY AND ITALY

The War Resolution voted by Congress, December 11, 1941.

Joint resolution, declaring that a state of war exists between the government of Germany and the government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas, the government of Germany has formally declared war against the government and the people of the United States: Therefore be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the state of war between the United States and the government of Germany which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared: And the President is hereby authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the government to carry on war against the government of Germany; and, to bring the conflict to a successful termination, all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

(The separate declaration against Italy was identical, except for substitution of names.)

SPEECHES OF HITLER AND MUSSOLINI ANNOUNCING WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES

Because the German and Italian peoples have long been deprived of the truth about America and the world scene, their dictators can make such false and ridiculous statements as those contained in these two messages.

SPEECH BY MUSSOLINI

This is another day of solemn decision in Italy's history and of memorable events destined to give a new course to the history of continents.

The powers of the steel pact, Fascist Italy and National-Socialist Germany, ever closely linked, participate from today on the side of heroic Japan against the United States of America.

The Tripartite Pact becomes a military alliance which draws around its colors 250,000,000 men determined to give all in order to win.

Neither the Axis nor Japan wanted an extension of the conflict.

BLAME ROOSEVELT FOR WAR

One man, one man only, a real tyrannical democrat, through a series of infinite provocations, betraying with a supreme fraud the population of his country, wanted the war and had prepared for it day by day with diabolical obstinacy.

The formidable blows that on the immense Pacific expanse have been already inflicted on American forces, show how prepared are the soldiers of the Empire of the Rising Sun.

I say to you, and you will understand, that it is a privilege to fight with them.

Tomorrow the Tripartite Pact will become an instrument of just peace between the peoples.

Italians! Once more arise and be worthy of this historical hour!

We shall win.

SUMMARY OF AND EXCERPTS FROM HITLER'S SPEECH

He opened his long tirade with a now familiar pattern of boasting about his divine mission and vaunting Germany's successes.

"If Providence wanted it that war should not be avoided, so I must thank Providence for putting me at the head of the German nation in this war which will decide the fate not only of Germany but of the entire world throughout the next 500 or 1,000 years."

He proceeded to attempt to build up a thesis of an unconquerable Germany.

He repeated the old charges of British efforts to "encircle Germany" and of Russian preparations against the Reich. He reviewed the whole course of the war.

"It is my decision," he stated, "to make the European front unconquerable for the enemy."

"I am now the head of the strongest military force in the world," he boasted, "of the strongest air force and the most gallant navy."

He made excuses for the German reverses in the Libyan campaign and for the winter slow-down in Russia and insisted that next Spring "nothing will be able to stop the German advance."

After thus reassuring the German people he built up his purported case against the United States.

He claimed that the United States had "forced the struggle" on Japan and expressed deep satisfaction "with this Japanese challenge to this American power."

He announced a new alliance with Italy and Japan to prosecute the war "with every means available" in order to establish "after victory" a "new order."

"Italy and Germany are forced, in agreement with the stipulation in the Tripartite Pact, to associate themselves with Japan."

HITLER'S SPEECH

He then attempted to justify a declaration of war against the United States by reviewing what he termed a long series of attacks against Germany. He asserted Germany was saving Europe from "strange elements from abroad."

He charged the American "threat to Europe" sprang from "an inheritance of Jewish and Negro blood."

"If anyone said that cultural values have been brought back from America to Europe, it was only the intention of a decayed Jewish culture."

He made a long personal tirade against President Roosevelt and even attacked Mrs. Roosevelt "for refusing to live in a world as we National Socialists know it."

"In his ambition for world dictatorship, Roosevelt has refrained from doing nothing."

"President Roosevelt has done everything to prevent Germany and Italy from securing their existence."

He said that between him and President Roosevelt "there is a world-wide abyss."

He charged that the President had plotted to attack Germany and rejoiced that the President had given him the opportunity to "write a page in the book of honor of German history."

He claimed American instigations had exhausted his "patience to the straining point."

He then proceeded to announce the declaration of war.

"I have told the German Ambassador to the United States to ask for his passport . . . and I have given the American Charge d'Affaires his passport today."

GERMAN DECLARATION OF WAR

Text of the German note handed to the United States Charge d'Affaires in Berlin by Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop, December 11, 1941.

Mr. Charge d'Affaires:

The government of the United States, having violated in the most flagrant manner and in ever-increasing measure all rules of neutrality, in favor of the adversaries of Germany, and having continually been guilty of the most severe provocations toward Germany ever since the outbreak of the European war provoked by the British declaration of war against Germany on September 3, 1939, has finally resorted to open military acts of aggression.

On September 11, 1941, the President of the United States publicly declared that he had ordered the American navy and air force to shoot at any German war vessel. In his speech of October 27, 1941, he once more expressly affirmed that this order was in force. Acting under this order, vessels of the American navy since early September, 1941, have systematically attacked German naval forces. Thus American destroyers, as for instance, the *Greer*, the *Kearney* and the *Reuben James*, have opened fire on German submarines according to the plan. The Secretary of the American Navy, Mr. Knox, himself confirmed that American destroyers attacked German submarines.

Furthermore, the naval forces of the United States, under orders of their government and contrary to international law, have treated and seized German merchant vessels on the high seas as enemy ships.

The German government therefore establishes the following facts:

Although Germany on her part has strictly adhered to the rules of international law and has

GERMAN DECLARATION OF WAR

treated with the United States during every period of the present war, the government of the United States from initial violations of neutrality has finally proceeded to open acts of war against Germany. The government of the United States has thereby virtually created a state of war.

The German government, consequently, discontinues diplomatic relations with the United States of America and declares that under those circumstances brought about by President Roosevelt, Germany, too, as from today, considers herself as being in a state of war with the United States of America.

Accept, Mr. Charge d'Affaires, the expression of my high consideration.

(Signed) RIBBENTROP

December 11, 1941.

TIMETABLE OF ACTION ON WAR DECLARATIONS

(By The Associated Press)

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11—Here is the timetable of action today on war declarations against Germany and Italy:

- 12:21 P. M.—President's message read to Senate: Delivered to House.
- 12:26—Senate took up German declaration.
- 12:36—House took up German declaration.
- 12:39—Senate vote approving German declaration completed.
- 12:40—Senate took up Italian declaration.
- 12:48—Senate vote passing Italian declaration completed.
- 12:59—House vote approving German declaration completed.
- 1:23—House completed roll-call on Italian declaration.
- 3:05—President Roosevelt signed the German declaration
- 3:06—The President signed the Italian declaration.



John J. Pershing

GENERAL PERSHING VOLUNTEERS

General John J. Pershing, at the age of 81, sent this letter to President Roosevelt, December 10, 1941:

All Americans today are united in one ambition—to take whatever share they can in the defense of their country. As one among these millions, I hasten to offer my services, in any way in which my experience and my strength, to the last ounce, will be of help in the fight.

With supreme confidence that, under your calm and determined leadership, we will retain our balance, despite foul blows, I am faithfully yours,

JOHN J. PERSHING

The President's reply to General Pershing:

You are magnificent. You always have been—and you always will be. I am deeply grateful to you for your letter of December 10. Under a wise law, you have never been placed on the retired list. You are very much on the active list and your services will be of great value.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT



HISTORIC MEETING OF PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND PRIME MINISTER WINSTON CHURCHILL ABOARD H.M.S. PRINCE OF WALES ON THE ATLANTIC, AUGUST 10, 1941



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL ACCOMPANIED BY HIGH AMERICAN AND BRITISH OFFICIALS ABOARD THE U.S.S. AUGUSTA, AUGUST 9, 1941

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

The Declaration issued by Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt after their meeting at sea in August, 1941.

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

FIRST, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

SECOND, they desire to seek no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

THIRD, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

FOURTH, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

FIFTH, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security;

SIXTH, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands

may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

SEVENTH, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

EIGHTH, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

Don't tread on me.

—Motto of the first flag of the Revolution, raised on Paul Jones's ship, the *Alfred*, in 1776. The flag showed a pine tree with a rattlesnake coiled at its foot.

The interesting and inspiring thought about America is that she asks nothing for herself except what she has a right to ask for humanity itself.

—Woodrow Wilson, Speech,
New York, 17 May, 1915.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY FRANK KNOX'S STATEMENT ON THE JAPA- NESE ATTACK ON HAWAII

Written December 15, 1941, after his return from a trip of personal inspection.

"My inspection trip to the island enables me to present the general facts covering the attack which hitherto have been unavailable.

"The essential fact is that the Japanese purpose was to knock out the United States before the war began. This was made apparent by the deception practiced, by the preparations which had gone on for many weeks before the attack, and the attacks themselves which were made simultaneously throughout the Pacific. In this purpose the Japanese failed.

"The United States services were not on the alert against the surprise air attack on Hawaii. This fact calls for a formal investigation which will be initiated immediately by the President. Further action is, of course, dependent on the facts and recommendations made by this investigating board. We are all entitled to know it if [a] there was any error of judgment which contributed to the surprise, [b] if there was any dereliction of duty prior to the attack.

LOSSES BY NAVY

"My investigation made clear that after the attack the defense by both services was conducted skillfully and bravely."

The report then detailed the losses suffered by the navy.

Ninety-one officers and 2,638 enlisted men were killed; 20 officers and 636 enlisted men wounded.

The battleship *Arizona* was destroyed when first its boiler and then its forward magazine exploded

SECRETARY KNOX'S STATEMENT

when a Japanese bomb literally went down its funnel. The obsolete battleship *Utah*, used as a target ship for many years, which was in service as a training and experimental ship, also was destroyed. Listed as lost were three destroyers, the *Cassin*, the *Downes*, and the *Shaw*, and the mine layer *Oglala*.

DAMAGE TO OTHER VESSELS

"The navy sustained damage to other vessels. This damage varies from ships which have been already repaired, and are ready for sea, or which have gone to sea, to a few ships which will take from a week to several months to repair. In the last category is the older battleship *Oklahoma*, which has capsized but can be righted and repaired."

The remainder of the Pacific fleet, the statement said, is at sea hunting the enemy.

Knox said the known Japanese losses in equipment were 3 submarines and 41 aircraft. He added that the army suffered severe losses in aircraft, that some hangars were destroyed, but that replacements have arrived or are on their way.

The Secretary of the Navy told in some detail of many individual actions of outstanding courage. He said:

"In the navy's gravest hour of peril, the officers and men of the fleet exhibited magnificent courage and resourcefulness during the treacherous Japanese assault on Pearl Harbor. The real story of Pearl Harbor is not one of individual heroism, although there were many such cases. It lies in the splendid manner in which all hands did their job as long as they were able, not only under fire, but while fighting the flames afterward and immediately starting salvage work and reorganization.

"Prompt action saved many lives and a vast amount of material. Without exception, all ships and stations rose to the emergency. Less than four minutes after the first alarm, guns of the fleet went

SECRETARY KNOX'S STATEMENT

into action against enemy aircraft. Seconds later the first Japanese plane was shot down.

"To a recruit seaman aboard a battleship probably goes the honor of striking the first telling blow in the fleet's defense. Even before general quarter sounded, this youngster single handedly manned a machine gun and blasted an attacking torpedo plane as it leveled against his ship.

"The dying captain of a battleship displayed the outstanding individual heroism of the day. As he emerged from the conning tower to the bridge, the better to fight his ship, his stomach was laid completely open by a shrapnel burst. He fell to the deck. Refusing to be carried to safety, he continued to direct the action.

"When the bridge became a blazing inferno, two officers attempted to remove him. But he ordered them to abandon him and save themselves. The latter found themselves blocked by the flames. Only the heroic efforts of a third officer enabled them to escape. He climbed through the fire to a higher level from which he passed one line to an adjoining battleship, and another to his trapped shipmates. By this frail means they made their way to safety.

FIGHT BY AIRCRAFT TENDER

"Entire ship's companies showed exemplary valor and coördination. Drama was thus crowded into a few seconds on board an aircraft tender moored at the naval air station, target of the enemy's fiercest bombing and strafing. With the ship already on fire from repeated high-altitude attacks, her antiaircraft batteries downed a plane which crashed in flames on deck. At this moment her captain observed the shadow of an enemy two-man submarine approaching within a few yards of the vessel. It was placed under fire.

"Hits were scored immediately and the submarine exposed her conning tower. At that instant a

SECRETARY KNOX'S STATEMENT

destroyer stood down channel, passed directly over the submarine, and sank it with depth charges. Doubtless saved from this craft's torpedoes, the tender then shot down a second plane, which fell on land nearby.

"Men fought with the cool confidence that comes from complete indoctrination for battle. In one case, a single bluejacket manned a 5-inch anti-aircraft gun after his 10 battery mates had been shot down by a strafing attack. He would seize a shell from the fuse box, place it in the tray, dash to the other side of the gun, and ram it home. He would then take his position on the pointer's seat and fire. After the third such round, a terrific explosion blew him over the side of the battleship. He was rescued.

RESCUE GUNS FROM FLAMES

"At the several naval air stations attacked, crews dashed into the flames enveloping plants set ablaze by incendiaries, stripped off free machine guns, and with them returned the enemy's fire. In at least one instance an enemy craft was shot down.

"Two cruiser scouting seaplanes, their speed and maneuverability reduced by heavy pontoons, destroyed an attacking Japanese pursuit ship of thrice their speed.

"Simultaneously throughout the navy yard examples of personal heroism developed. Several workmen of Japanese ancestry deserted their benches to help the marine defense battalion man machine gun nests. Two of them with hands blistered from hot gun barrels, required emergency treatment.

"Cool as ice, the men who manned the navy yard signal tower from which flashed orders to the anchored fleet, carried out their assignment under a hail of machine gun fire and bombs from the enemy, as well as shrapnel from their own force's antiaircraft batteries. None left his dangerous post.

FIRST TO OBSERVE INVADERS

"First to observe the invaders through their long-glasses from their high vantage point, they sent out the astounding air raid warning by visual signals. Then they settled into the complex business of transmitting the scores of orders to the ships that fought back at the attackers from their berths, or prepared to stand out to sea.

"Men from ships out of action managed at any cost to return to the battle. There were the survivors of the capsized ship who swam through blazing oil to clamber aboard other ships and join gun crews. Crews from another disabled vessel swam into midchannel where they were hoisted aboard outward bound destroyers.

"Proof that getting back into battle took precedence over their own lives was the fact that the comparative safety of the shore lay only a few yards away. Lying in a hospital bed when the first air raid alarm sounded, one officer leaped up, brushed aside nurses and ran across the navy yard to his ship. He fought with such gallantry and zeal, despite his illness, that his captain recommended him for promotion.

DISABLED, TURNS TO RESCUE

"There was the case of the destroyer tender which lay alongside a dock undergoing major overhaul, powerless and without armament. Unable to assume an active defense role, she concerned herself with the vital task of rescue with her available ship's boats. One naval reserve ensign volunteered as skipper of a motor launch. With four men he proceeded across Pearl Harbor's reverberating channel through a hail of enemy machine gun fire and shrapnel. They saved almost 100 men from one battleship—men who had been injured or blown overboard into the oil-fired waters.

"The attack on this vessel was at its height as





these rescue operations proceeded. Suddenly the launch's propeller jammed. Coolly, the ensign directed the work of disengaging the screw as flames licked around its wooden hull, meantime also supervising the picking up of more victims from the harbor. His captain cited him for 'initiative, resourcefulness, devotion to duty, and personal bravery displayed.'

"Four motor torpedo boats had been loaded aboard a fleet tanker for shipment. Their youthful ensign-captains put their power-driven turret machine guns into immediate action, accounting for at least one enemy plane.

AUXILIARIES AID IN FIGHT

"To the unsung heroes of the harbor auxiliaries must go much of the credit for helping stem the onslaught. Even the lowly garbage lighters shared the grim task. One came alongside a blazing ship which threatened momentarily to explode. Calmly the yardcraft's commander led fire fighting both aboard the warship and on the surface of the harbor. He kept his tiny vessel beside the larger one for 24 hours.

"Men's will to fight was tremendous. One seaman had been confined to his battleship's brig for misconduct a few days earlier. When an explosion tore open the door, he dashed straight to his battle station on an antiaircraft gun. On the submarine base dock a bluejacket, carrying a heavy machine gun for which there was no mount immediately available, shot the weapon from his arms, staggering under the concussion of the rapid fire.

EXAMPLES OF QUICK THINKING

"Quick thinking in the dire emergency probably saved many lives—and ships. An aviation machinist's mate aboard one ship saw that the flames from the huge vessel threatened a repair ship alongside. He ran through the blaze and singlehandedly slashed

the lines holding the two ships together. Freed, the smaller craft drew clear.

"Only in the final moments, when remaining aboard appeared utterly hopeless, would men leave their ships. Then they went reluctantly. Once ashore, instead of finding some dry place to recuperate from their terrific pounding, they pitched emergency quarters as near their vessels as possible. And with portable guns they continued to fight; later they stood guard at the same camps as repair operations began on their ships, setting regular ship-board watches.

"Like all treacherous attacks, the bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese caught certain vessels of the fleet under periodic overhaul. While in this condition of repair, such ships were not able to utilize their offensive powers to the greatest effectiveness. These ships, therefore, turned to with a will at many useful purposes.

"One ship rescued with its boats, hundreds of survivors thrown into the water by the force of explosions; meanwhile the surface of the water was becoming a raging inferno from burning oil. Other ships sent their repair parties to help the fighting ships keep afloat. Others sent ammunition parties to maintain the flow of powder and shells to the guns.

"Without doubt the whole spectacle was the greatest spontaneous exhibition of coöperation, determination, and courage that the American navy has been called upon to make. The crew of one ship followed it around on its outside as it capsized firing their guns until they were under water. Those same men stood on the deck and cheered as one of the more fortunate ships cleared the harbor and passed by, en route after the Japanese. Of all the accounts submitted on that memorable day the record shows a continual demonstration of courage, bravery, and fearlessness of which the American nation may well be proud."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S FIRST WHITE PAPER

A report to Congress reviewing Japanese-American relations, December 15, 1941.

"On December 8, 1941, I presented to the congress a message in person asking for a declaration of war as an answer to the treacherous attack made by Japan the previous day upon the United States. For the information of the congress, and as a public record of the facts, I am transmitting this historical summary of the past policy of this country in relation to the Pacific area and of the more immediate events leading up to this Japanese onslaught upon our forces and territory. Attached hereto are the various documents and correspondence implementing this history.

"A little over 100 years ago, in 1833, the United States entered into its first far eastern treaty, a treaty with Siam. It was a treaty providing for peace and for dependable relationships.

CHINA TREATY CONCLUDED IN 1844

"Ten years later Caleb Cushing was sent to negotiate and in 1844 there was concluded our first treaty with China.

"In 1853, Commodore Perry knocked on Japan's doors. In the next few years those doors began to open, and Japan, which had kept itself aloof from the world, began to adopt what we call Western civilization. During those early years, the United States used every influence it could exert to protect Japan in her transition stage.

"With respect to the entire Pacific area, the United States has consistently urged, as it has for all other parts of the globe, the fundamental importance to world peace of fair and equal treatment among nations. Accordingly, whenever there has

been a tendency on the part of any nation to encroach upon the independence and sovereignty of countries of the Far East, the United States has tried to discourage such tendency wherever possible.

ATTITUDE OF AMERICA

"There was a period when this American attitude was especially important to Japan. At all times it has been important to China and to other countries of the Far East.

"At the end of the 19th century the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands passed from Spain to this country. The United States pledged itself to a policy toward the Philippines designed to equip them to become a free and independent nation. That pledge and that policy we have consistently carried out.

"At that time there was going on in China what has been called the 'scramble for concessions.' There was even talk about a possible partitioning of China. It was then that the principle of the 'open door' in China was laid down. In 1900, the American government declared that its policy was to 'seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China . . . protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.'

OPEN DOOR ADVOCATED

"Ever since that day, we have consistently and unfailingly advocated the principles of the open-door policy throughout the Far East.

"In the year 1908 the government of the United States and the government of Japan concluded an agreement by an exchange of notes. In that agreement, the two governments jointly declared

that they were determined to support 'by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that empire'; that it was 'the wish of the two governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific ocean,' and that 'the policy of both governments' was 'directed to the maintenance of the existing *status quo* in that region.

"The United States has consistently practiced the principles enunciated in that agreement.

NINE POWERS CONFER

"In 1921, following the close of the first World War, nine powers having interests in the western Pacific met in conference in Washington. China, Japan, and the United States were there. One great objective of this conference was the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. This was to be achieved by reduction of armament and by regulation of competition in the Pacific and far eastern areas. Several treaties and agreements were concluded at that conference.

"One of these was the Nine-Power Treaty. It contained pledges to respect the sovereignty of China and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout China.

"Another was a treaty between the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan providing for limitation of naval armament.

"The course of events which have led directly to the present crisis began 10 years ago. For it was then—in 1931—that Japan undertook on a large scale its present policy of conquest in China. It began by the invasion of Manchuria, which was part of China.

1932 NOTES RECALLED

"The council and the assembly of the League of Nations, at once and during many months of continuous effort thereafter, tried to persuade Japan to stop. The United States supported that effort. For example, the government of the United States on January 7, 1932, specifically stated in notes sent to the Japanese and the Chinese governments that it would not recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement brought about by violation of treaties.

"This barbaric aggression of Japan in Manchuria set the example and the pattern for the course soon to be pursued by Italy and Germany in Africa and in Europe. In 1933 Hitler assumed power in Germany. It was evident that, once rearmed, Germany would embark upon a policy of conquest in Europe. Italy—then still under the domination of Mussolini—also had resolved upon a policy of conquest in Africa and in the Mediterranean.

"Through the years which followed, Germany, Italy, and Japan reached an understanding to time their acts of aggression to their common advantage—and to bring about the ultimate enslavement of the rest of the world.

JAP REPLY FRIENDLY

"In 1934, the Japanese minister for foreign affairs sent a friendly note to the United States, stating that he firmly believed that no question existed between the two governments that was 'fundamentally incapable of amicable solution.' He added that Japan had 'no intention whatever to provoke and make trouble with any other power.' Our Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, replied in kind.

"But in spite of this exchange of friendly sentiments, and almost immediately thereafter, the acts and utterances of the Japanese government began to belie these assurances—at least so far as the

rights and interests of other nations in China were concerned.

"Our government thereupon expressed to Japan the view of the American people, and of the American government, that no nation has the right thus to override the rights and legitimate interests of other sovereign states.

NIPPON ARMS SPED

"The structure of peace which had been founded upon the Washington conference treaties began to be discarded by Japan. Indeed, in December of 1934, the Japanese government gave notice of its intention to terminate the naval treaty of February 6, 1922, which had limited competition in naval armament. She thereafter intensified and multiplied her rearmament program.

"In 1936 the government of Japan openly associated itself with Germany by entering the anti-Comintern pact.

"This pact, as we all know, was nominally directed against the Soviet Union; but its real purpose was to form a league of facism against the free world, particularly against Great Britain, France, and the United States.

MASK OF HYPOCRISY DROPPED

"Following this association of Germany, Italy, and Japan, the stage was now set for an unlimited campaign of conquest. In July, 1937, feeling themselves ready, the armed forces of Japan opened new large-scale military operations against China. Presently, her leaders, dropping the mask of hypocrisy, publicly declared their intention to seize and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of eastern Asia, the western Pacific, and the southern Pacific.

"They thus accepted the German thesis that 70 or 80 million Germans were by race, training ability,

and might, superior in every way to any other race in Europe—superior to about four hundred million other human beings in that area. And Japan, following suit, announced that the 70 or 80 million Japanese people were also superior to the seven or eight hundred million other inhabitants of the Orient—nearly all of whom were infinitely older and more developed in culture and civilization than themselves.

“Their conceit would make them masters of a region containing almost one-half the population of the earth. It would give them complete control of vast sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.

AMERICANS KILLED BY JAPS

“The military operations which followed in China flagrantly disregarded American rights. Japanese armed forces killed Americans. They wounded or abused American men, women, and children. They sank American vessels—including a naval vessel, the *Panay*. They bombed American hospitals, churches, schools, and missions. They destroyed American property. They obstructed, and in some cases, drove out, American commerce.

“In the meantime, they were inflicting incalculable damage upon China and ghastly suffering upon the Chinese people. They were inflicting wholesale injuries upon other nations—flouting all the principles of peace and good will among men.

“There are attached hereto lists of American nationals killed or wounded by Japanese forces in China since July 7, 1937; of American property in China reported to have been damaged, destroyed, or seriously endangered by Japanese air bombing or air machinegunning; of American nationals reported to have been assaulted; arbitrarily detained or subjected to indignities; of interferences with American nationals’ rights, and interests. These lists are

not complete. However, they are ample evidence of the flagrant Japanese disregard of American rights and civilized standards.

CONQUEST ON RAMPAGE

“Meanwhile, brute conquest was on the rampage in Europe and the Mediterranean.

“Hitler and Mussolini embarked upon a scheme of unlimited conquest. Since 1935, without provocation or excuse, they have attacked, conquered, and reduced to economic and political slavery some 16 independent nations.

“The machinery set up for their unlimited conquest included, and still includes, not only enormous armed forces, but also huge organizations for carrying on plots, intrigue, intimidation, propaganda, and sabotage. This machine—unprecedented in size—has world-wide ramifications; and into them the Japanese plans and operations have been steadily interlocked.

FEAR OF ATTACK DESCRIBED

“As the forces of Germany, Italy, and Japan increasingly combined their efforts over these years, I was convinced that this combination would ultimately attack the United States and the western hemisphere—if it were successful in the other continents.

“The very existence of the United States as a great free people, and the free existence of the American family of nations in the new world, would be a standing challenge to the axis. The axis dictators would choose their own time to make it clear that the United States and the New World were included in their scheme of destruction.

“This they did last year, in 1940, when Hitler and Mussolini concluded a treaty of alliance with Japan deliberately aimed at the United States.

COUNTERPART OF HITLER

"The strategy of Japan in the Pacific area was a faithful counterpart of that used by Hitler in Europe. Through infiltration, encirclement, intimidation, and finally armed attack, control was extended over neighboring peoples. Each such acquisition was a new starting point for new aggression.

"Pursuing this policy of conquest, Japan had first worked her way into and finally seized Manchuria. Next she had invaded China, and has sought for the past four and one-half years to subjugate her.

"Passing through the China Sea close to the Philippine Islands, she then invaded and took possession of Indo-China. Today the Japanese are extending this conquest throughout Thailand—and seeking the occupation of Malaya and Burma. The Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, come next on the Japanese timetable; and it is probable that further down the Japanese page are the names of Australia, New Zealand, and all the other islands of the Pacific—including Hawaii and the great chain of the Aleutian Islands.

MANDATED ISLES FORTIFIED

"To the eastward of the Philippines, Japan violated the mandate under which she had received the custody of the Caroline, Marshall, and Mariana Islands after the World War, by fortifying them, and not only closing them to all commerce but her own, but forbidding any foreigner even to visit them.

"Japanese spokesmen, after their custom, cloaked these conquests with innocent-sounding names. They talked of the 'new order in eastern Asia'; and then of the 'co-prosperity sphere in greater east Asia.'

"What they really intended was the enslavement of every nation which they could bring within their power, and the enrichment—not of all Asia, not even of the common people of Japan—but of the war

lords who had seized control of the Japanese state. Here, too, they were following the Nazi pattern.

DEFENSE HELD NECESSARY

"By this course of aggression, Japan made it necessary for various countries, including our own, to keep in the Pacific in self-defense large armed forces and a vast amount of material which might otherwise have been used against Hitler. That, of course, is exactly what Hitler wanted them to do. The diversion thus created by Hitler's Japanese ally forced the peace-loving nations to establish and maintain a huge front in the Pacific.

"Throughout this course and program of Japanese aggression, the government of the United States consistently endeavored to persuade the government of Japan that Japan's best interests would lie in maintaining and cultivating friendly relations with the United States and with all other countries that believe in orderly and peaceful processes.

"Following the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and China in 1937, this government made known to the Japanese government and to the Chinese government that whenever both those governments considered it desirable we stood ready to exercise our good offices. During the following years of conflict that attitude on our part remained unchanged.

BID TO PARLEY DECLINED

"In October, 1937, upon invitation by which the Belgian government made itself the host, 19 countries which have interests in the Far East, including the United States, sent representatives to Brussels to consider the situation in the Far East in conformity with the Nine-Power Treaty and to endeavor to bring about an adjustment of the difficulties between Japan and China by peaceful means.

FIRST WHITE PAPER

"Japan and Germany only of all the powers invited declined to attend. Japan was itself an original signatory of the treaty. China, one of the signatories, and the Soviet Union, not a signatory, attended. After the conference opened, the countries in attendance made further attempts to persuade Japan to participate in the conference. Japan again declined.

"On November 24, 1937, the conference adopted a declaration, urging that 'hostilities be suspended and resort be had to peaceful processes.'

RECOMMENDATION IGNORED

"Japan scorned the conference and ignored the recommendation.

"It became clear that, unless this course of affairs in the Far East was halted, the Pacific area was doomed to experience the same horrors which have devastated Europe.

"Therefore, in this year of 1941, in an endeavor to end this process by peaceful means while there seemed still to be a chance, the United States entered into discussions with Japan.

"For nine months these conversations were carried on for the purpose of arriving at some understanding acceptable to both countries.

HONEST RIGHTS CONSIDERED

"Throughout all of these conversations this government took into account not only the legitimate interests of the United States, but also those of Japan and other countries. When questions relating to the legitimate rights and interests of other countries came up, this government kept in appropriate contact with the representatives of those countries.

"In the course of these negotiations the United States steadfastly advocated certain basic principles which should govern international relations. These were:

"The principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of all nations.

"The principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries.

"The principle of equality—including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment.

"The principle of reliance upon international co-operation and conciliation for the prevention, and pacific settlement of controversies.

QUALIFIED STATEMENTS OFFERED

"The Japanese government, it is true, repeatedly offered qualified statements of peace intention. But it became clear, as each proposal was explored, that Japan did not intend to modify in any way her greedy designs upon the whole Pacific world. Although she continually maintained that she was promoting only the peace and greater prosperity of east Asia, she continued her brutal assault upon the Chinese people.

"Nor did Japan show any inclination to renounce her unholy alliance with Hitlerism.

PARLEYS SUSPENDED

"In July of this year the Japanese government connived with Hitler to force from the Vichy government of France permission to place Japanese armed forces in southern Indo-China and began sending her troops and equipment into that area.

"The conversations between this government and the Japanese government were thereupon suspended.

"But during the following month, at the urgent and insistent request of the Japanese government, which again made emphatic profession of peaceful intent, the conversations were resumed.

"At that time the Japanese government made the suggestion that the responsible heads of the Japanese government and of the government of the United States meet personally to discuss means for

FIRST WHITE PAPER

bringing about an adjustment of relations between the two countries.

MOVES FOR ASSURANCE FAIL

"I should have been happy to travel thousands of miles to meet the premier of Japan for that purpose. But I felt it desirable, before so doing, to obtain some assurance that there could be some agreement on basic principles. This government tried hard—but without success—to obtain such assurance from the Japanese government.

"The various proposals of the Japanese government and the attitude taken by this government are set forth in a document which the Secretary of State handed to the Japanese ambassador on Oct. 2, 1941.

"Thereafter, several formulas were offered and discussed. But the Japanese government continued upon its course of war and conquest.

"Finally, on Nov. 20, 1941, the Japanese government presented a new and narrow proposal which called for supplying by the United States to Japan of as much oil as Japan might require, for suspension of freezing measures, and for discontinuance by the United States of aid to China. It contained, however, no provision for abandonment by Japan of her warlike operations or aims.

SETTLEMENT PLAN OFFERED

"Such a proposal obviously offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment. The American government, in order to clarify the issues, presented to the Japanese government on Nov. 26 a clear-cut plan for a broad but simple settlement.

"The outline of the proposed plan for agreement between the United States and Japan was divided into two parts:

"In section 1 there was outlined a mutual declaration of policy containing affirmations that the

national policies of the two countries were directed toward peace throughout the Pacific area, that the two countries had no territorial designs or aggressive intentions in that area, and that they would give active support to certain fundamental principles of peace upon which their relations with each other and all other nations would be based. There was provision for mutual pledges to support and apply in their economic relations with each other and with other nations and peoples liberal economic principles, which were enumerated, based upon the general principle of equality of commercial opportunity and treatment.

"In section 2 there were outlined proposed steps to be taken by the two governments. These steps envisaged a situation in which there would be no Japanese or other foreign armed forces in French Indo-China or in China.

MUTUAL PACTS SUGGESTED

"Mutual commitments were suggested along lines as follows: (a) To endeavor to conclude a multilateral nonaggression pact among the governments principally concerned in the Pacific area; (b) To endeavor to conclude among the principally interested governments an agreement to respect the territorial integrity of Indo-China and not to seek or accept preferential economic treatment therein; (c) Not to support any government in China other than the national government of the Republic of China with capital temporarily at Chungking; (d) To relinquish extra-territorial and related rights in China and to endeavor to obtain the agreement of other governments now possessing such rights to give up those rights; (e) To negotiate a trade agreement based upon reciprocal most favored nation treatment; (f) To remove freezing restrictions imposed by each country on the funds of the others; (g) To agree upon a plan for the stabilization of the dollar-yen

rate; (h) To agree that no agreement which either had concluded with any third power or powers shall be interpreted by it in a way to conflict with the fundamental purpose of this agreement, and (i) To use their influence to cause other governments to adhere to the basic political and economic principles provided for in this suggested agreement.

NEW TROOPS MOVED

"In the midst of these conversations we learned that new contingents of Japanese armed forces and new masses of equipment were moving into Indo-China. Toward the end of November these movements were intensified. During the first week of December new movements of Japanese forces made it clear that, under cover of the negotiations, attacks on unspecified objectives were being prepared.

"I promptly asked the Japanese government for a frank statement of the reasons for increasing its forces in Indo-China. I was given an evasive and specious reply. Simultaneously the Japanese operations went forward with increased tempo.

ATTACK ALREADY ORDERED

"We did not know then, as we know now, that they had ordered and were even then carrying out their plan for a treacherous attack upon us.

"I was determined, however, to exhaust every conceivable effort for peace. With this in mind, on the evening of Dec. 6 last, I addressed a personal message to the emperor of Japan.

"To this government's proposal of Nov. 26 the Japanese government made no reply until Dec. 7. On that day the Japanese ambassador here and the special representative whom the Japanese government had sent to the United States to assist in peaceful negotiations delivered a lengthy document to our Secretary of State, one hour after the Japanese had

launched a vicious attack upon American territory and American citizens in the Pacific.

REPLY DENOUNCED BY HULL

"That document was, a few minutes after its receipt, aptly characterized by the Secretary of the State as follows:

'I must say that in all my conversations with you (the Japanese ambassador) during the last nine months I have never uttered one word of untruth. This is borne out absolutely by the record. In all my 50 years of public service I have never seen a document that was more crowded with infamous falsehoods and distortions—infamous falsehoods and distortions on a scale so huge that I never imagined until to-day that any government on this planet was capable of uttering them.'

"I concur emphatically in every word of that statement.

TIMETABLE OF JAP ATTACK

"For the record of history it is essential in reading this part of my message always to bear in mind that the actual air and submarine attack in the Hawaiian Islands commenced on Sunday, Dec. 7, at 1:20 p. m., Washington time—7:50 a. m. Honolulu time of same day—Monday, Dec. 8, 3:20 a. m., Tokyo time.

"To my message of Dec. 6 (9 p. m. Washington time—Dec. 7, 11 a. m. Tokyo time) to the emperor of Japan, invoking his cooperation with me in further effort to preserve peace, there has finally come to me on Dec. 10 (6:23 a. m. Washington time—Dec. 10, 8:23 p. m. Tokyo time) a reply, conveyed in a telegraphic report by the American ambassador at Tokyo dated Dec. 8, 1 p. m. (Dec. 7, 11 p. m. Washington time).

"The ambassador reported that at 7 o'clock on

the morning of the 8th (Dec. 7, 5 p. m., Washington time) the Japanese minister of foreign affairs asked him to call at his official residence; that the foreign minister handed the ambassador a memorandum dated Dec. 8 (Dec. 7, Washington time) the text of which had been transmitted to the Japanese ambassador in Washington to be presented to the American government (this was the memorandum which was delivered by the Japanese ambassador to the Secretary of State at 2:20 p. m. on Sunday, Dec. 7 (Monday, Dec. 8, 4:20 a. m. Tokyo time); that the foreign minister had been in touch with the emperor; and that the emperor desired that the memorandum be regarded as the emperor's reply to my message.

TOLD TO STATE VIEWS

“Further, the ambassador reports, the foreign minister made an oral statement. Textually, the oral statement began ‘his majesty has expressed his gratefulness and appreciation for the cordial message of the President.’ The message further continued to the effect that, in regard to our inquiries on the subject of increase of Japanese forces in French Indo-China, his majesty had commanded his government to state its views to the American government. The message concluded, textually, with the statement:

“ ‘Establishment of peace in the Pacific, and consequently of the world, has been the cherished desire of his majesty for the realization of which he has hitherto made his government to continue its earnest endeavors. His majesty trusts that the President is fully aware of this fact.’

“Japan's real reply, however, made by Japan's war lords and evidently formulated many days before, took the form of the attack which had already been made without warning upon our territories at various points in the Pacific.

THE HISTORICAL RECORD

"There is the record, for all history to read in amazement, in sorrow, in horror, and in disgust!

"We are now at war. We are fighting in self-defense. We are fighting in defense of our national existence, of our right to be secure, of our right to enjoy the blessings of peace. We are fighting in defense of principles of law and order and justice against an effort of unprecedented ferocity to overthrow those principles and to impose upon humanity a regime of ruthless domination by unrestricted and arbitrary force.

"Other countries, too—a host of them—have declared war on Japan. Some of them were first attacked by Japan, as we have been. China has already been valiantly resisting Japan in an undeclared war forced upon her by Japan. After four and one-half years of stubborn resistance, the Chinese now and henceforth will fight with renewed confidence and confirmed assurance of victory.

U. S.-BRITISH STAND CITED

"All members of the great British commonwealth, themselves fighting heroically on many fronts against Germany and her allies, have joined with us in the battle of the Pacific as we have joined with them in the battle of the Atlantic.

"All but three of the governments of nations overrun by German armies have declared war on Japan. The other three are severing relations.

"In our own hemisphere many of our sister republics have declared war on Japan and the others have given firm expression of their solidarity with the United States.

NATIONS AGAINST JAPAN

"The following are the countries which have to date declared war against Japan: Australia, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic,

Gautemala, Haiti, Honduras, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, New Zealand, Panama, El Salvador, South Africa, United Kingdom, and Poland.

"These and other peace loving countries will be fighting as are we, first, to put an end to Japan's program of aggression and, second, to make good the right of nations and of mankind to live in peace under conditions of security and justice.

"The people of this country are totally united in their determination to consecrate our national strength and man power to bring conclusively to an end the pestilence of aggression and force which has long menaced the world and which now has struck deliberately and directly at the safety of the United States."



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S "BILL OF RIGHTS" ADDRESS TO THE NATION

BROADCAST DECEMBER 15, 1941

"No date in the long history of freedom means more to liberty loving men in all liberty loving countries than the 15th day of December, 1791. On that day, 150 years ago, a new nation, through an elected congress, adopted a declaration of human rights which has influenced the thinking of all mankind from one end of the world to the other.

"BILL OF RIGHTS" ADDRESS

BASIC FOR AMERICAS

"There is not a single republic of this hemisphere which has not adopted in its fundamental law the basic principles of freedom of man and freedom of mind enacted in the American Bill of Rights.

"There is not a country, large or small, on this continent which has not felt the influence of that document, directly or indirectly.

"Indeed, prior to the year 1933, the essential validity of the American Bill of Rights was accepted everywhere, at least in principle. Even today, with the exception of Germany, Italy, and Japan, the peoples of the world—in all probability four-fifths of them—support its principles, its teachings, and its glorious results.

"But, in the year 1933, there came to power in Germany a political clique which did not accept the declarations of the American bill of human rights as valid: a small clique of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians whose announced and admitted platform was precisely the destruction of the rights that instrument declared. Indeed, the entire program and goal of these political and moral tigers was nothing more than the overthrow, throughout the earth, of the great revolution of human liberty of which our American Bill of Rights is the mother charter.

WORDS THEY WOULD CANCEL

"The truths which were self-evident to Thomas Jefferson—which have been self-evident to the six generations of Americans who followed him—were to these men hateful. The rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which seemed to Jefferson, and which seem to us, inalienable were, to Hitler and his fellows, empty words which they proposed to cancel forever.

"The propositions they advanced to take the place of Jefferson's inalienable rights were these:

"BILL OF RIGHTS" ADDRESS

"That the individual human being has no rights whatever in himself and by virtue of his humanity;

"That the individual human being has no right to a soul of his own, or a mind of his own, or a tongue of his own, or a trade of his own; or even to live where he pleases or to marry the woman he loves;

"That his only duty is the duty of obedience, not to his God, and not to his conscience, but to Adolf Hitler; and that his only value is his value, not as a man, but as a unit of the Nazi state.

INCOMPREHENSIBLE TO HITLER

"To Hitler the ideal of the people, as we conceive it—the free, self-governing and responsible people—is incomprehensible. The people, to Hitler, are 'the masses' and the highest human idealism is, in his own words, that a man should wish to become 'a dust particle' of the order 'of force' which is to shape the universe.

"To Hitler, the government, as we conceive it, is an impossible conception. The government to him is not the servant and the instrument of the people, but their absolute master and the dictator of their every act.

"To Hitler the church, as we conceive it, is a monstrosity to be destroyed by every means at his command. The Nazi church is to be the 'national church,' 'absolutely and exclusively in the service of but one doctrine, race and nation.'

FREE THOUGHT HATEFUL

"To Hitler, the freedom of men to think as they please and speak as they please and worship as they please is, of all things imaginable, most hateful and most desperately to be feared.

"The issue of our time, the issue of the war in which we are engaged, is the issue forced upon the decent, self-respecting peoples of the earth by the

"BILL OF RIGHTS" ADDRESS

aggressive dogmas of this attempted revival of barbarism; this proposed return to tyranny; this effort to impose again upon the peoples of the world doctrines of absolute obedience, and of dictatorial rule, and of the suppression of truth, and of the oppression of conscience, which the free nations of the earth have long ago rejected.

"What we face is nothing more nor less than an attempt to overthrow and to cancel out the great upsurge of human liberty of which the American Bill of Rights is the fundamental document; to force the peoples of the earth, and among them the peoples of this continent, to accept again the absolute authority and despotic rule from which the courage and the resolution and the sacrifices of their ancestors liberated them many, many years ago.

"It is an attempt which could succeed only if those who have inherited the gift of liberty had lost the manhood to preserve it. But we Americans know that the determination of this generation of our people to preserve liberty is as fixed and certain as the determination of that earlier generation of Americans to win it.

"We will not, under any threat, or in the face of any danger, surrender the guarantee of liberty our forefathers framed for us in our Bill of Rights.

"We hold with all the passion of our hearts and minds to those commitments of the human spirit.

WON'T SHAKE OUR HOLD

"We are solemnly determined that no power or combination of powers of this earth shall shake our hold upon them.

"We covenant with each other before all the world that, having taken up arms in the defense of liberty, we will not lay them down before liberty is once again secure in the world we live in. For that security we pray; for that security we act—now and evermore."

AMERICA'S INTERESTS IN THE PACIFIC

With democratic nations ranged against Fascist aggressors whose avowed aim is world domination, America's bases in the Pacific and those of Great Britain constitute a lifeline which must not be cut. The Aleutian Islands, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippine Islands, as well as the British crown colony of Hong Kong, British Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies, are important to us both as sources of supplies and for grave strategic reasons. These farflung outposts in the Pacific are our only guarantors that war may not come to our own Pacific shores; whether Dutch, British, or American they are of inestimable importance to us here and now—more important than they have ever been before.

The Hawaiian Islands, attacked so treacherously by the Japanese on December 7, 1941, lie midway between our west coast and Japan. From them we get sugar and pineapple—but it is their location which made us construct a strong air and naval base at Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu. In enemy hands, these islands could be used as a base from which the western part of the United States could be bombed almost at will. In enemy hands, they could be used as a naval base from which a blockade could be set up to bar us from important sources of supplies farther west.

The Philippine Islands, also fertile sources of sugar, cocoanut oil, Manila hemp, and other products, have very strategic importance, indeed. We need them in order to defend our economic interests in British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. From them a strong attack could be launched on Singapore; on the other hand, from them Singapore can be defended.

The Dutch East Indies are important sources of tin, rubber, coal, and oil, both for the British and

for us. The United States has little rubber of its own and needs the rubber it gets from the Dutch East Indies for self-defense. Moreover, from the Dutch East Indies an attack could be launched on Australia.

British Malaya, besides being of great importance for the protection of Britain's great base in the Far East, Singapore, is a highly important source of tin and rubber.

From the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong come iron and coal; its primary importance is again strategic. The closing of all these doors into the Far East would mean not only that the entire region would be closed to American commerce, but that the British Empire would be defeated in the Far East and would cease to afford us protection from the Pacific side. For reasons of self-defense, then, we must fight for our Pacific footholds. We cannot afford to let these reserves of tin, rubber, and oil, fall into hostile Japanese and German hands; we cannot afford to let go strategic bases from which we and the British could be blasted out of the Pacific. We do not intend to.

Our own Aleutian islands, extending more than 1,000 miles into the ocean from Alaska and separating the Pacific from the Bering Sea, are of such strategic importance that we have been fortifying them heavily. They are the key to Alaska, the west coast of Canada, and our own west coast. For the same reason, the Russian port of Vladivostock must never fall into enemy hands; and all of our bases in the Pacific can be used to defend it.

THE SCENE OF THE STRIFE IN THE PACIFIC

On Wake Island, Midway Islands, Guam, and the Philippine Islands, a gallant battle was fought against heavy odds. American forces resisted the efforts of the Japanese to occupy these islands. With gallant courage and at the cost of their lives, American marines, fliers, sailors, soldiers, and workmen, aided by loyal residents of these islands, fought a delaying action which bore the brunt of the Japanese attack and gave America the chance to organize her great potential strength in order to take the offensive. The names of these islands, with the battles fought upon them, will be long remembered in American history.

Wake Island, perhaps the most memorable of all, where a handful of American marines refused to give up, is a tiny coral island in the North Pacific on the route from Hawaii to Hong Kong, 2,000 miles west of Honolulu and 1,300 miles east of Guam. It is a cable station between San Francisco and Manila. Discovered in 1796, it came into the possession of the United States in 1898.

The *Midway Islands* are a little larger—almost three square miles in area, with a population of 36. They are almost exactly halfway across the Pacific, 1,800 miles northwest of Honolulu. Here to is a cable station for the American cable which connects Honolulu with the Philippines. These islands were discovered in 1859 and annexed by the United States in 1867.

Guam is a larger island, 206 square miles in area, with a population of 18,500; it is the largest and furthest south of the Marianas or Ladrone islands in the Northern Pacific. It came into the possession in 1898 and was under the direct control of the U. S. Navy. Apra, on the west coast, is the only

good harbor and point of entry. The seat of government is Agana, the largest city. Wake, Midway, and Guam are stops for the famous Pan American clipper ships.

The *Philippine Islands* provide the principal theatre of the American-Japanese War, and Manila is the principal objective of the first great campaign just as Hong Kong and Singapore are the principal objectives of Japan's simultaneous attack on the British Empire. The Philippine Islands consist of 7,083 islands and islets, covering a land area of 114,400 square miles, with a population of about 13,000,000 people. The islands form a part of the Malay archipelago, 500 miles off southeastern Asia; they extend 1,150 miles north and south and 680 miles east and west. The largest of the Philippine Islands are Luzon, Mindanao, Mindoro, Cebu, Palawan, Negros, Samar, Panay, Leyte, Bohol, and Masbate. Important archipelagos of small islands are Sulu, Calamian, Basilan, Batan, and Babuyan. The islands are mountainous and very fertile. They came into the possession of the United States at the close of the Spanish-American War. Luzon, the largest and most important of them, is 40,814 square miles in area and has a population of about four million. It is roughly oblong though irregular in shape, and the city of Manila, capital of the Philippines and principal harbor, is on the southwest coast. Capture of Luzon would give the Japanese not only control of the Philippines but effective control of the entire south Pacific area. A law was passed in 1934 which provided that by 1945 the islands were to be completely independent of the United States.

COMMODORE PERRY AND JAPAN

On July 8, 1853, an American naval squadron, that was to change the history of Japan and affect that of the whole world, anchored in Yedo Bay, twenty-seven miles from Tokyo. In 1852 President Fillmore had decided to negotiate a treaty with Japan and had selected for that mission Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry—brother of Oliver Hazard Perry, of Lake Erie fame—eminent naval educator, and commander of the Gulf Squadron in the Mexican War. Perry prepared a plan peculiarly designed to impress the Oriental mind. He surrounded his person with mystery. He would not see a governor or a vice-governor; they were officials too inferior for a great ambassador to receive personally. He refused to sail to Nagasaki, the only port open to foreigners, and threatened to come ashore with force unless officials were sent worthy of receiving so distinguished a message as a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan. His finesse triumphed. Princes Idzu and Iwami came as special representatives of the Emperor. With splendid ceremony Perry delivered his message and promised to return for a reply. He anchored again in Yedo Bay in 1854. The Japanese were conciliatory, and the Emperor sent commissioners. Again with pageantry Perry landed at Yokohama. There on March 31, 1854, was signed a treaty of friendship and commerce between the United States and Japan that was one of the great diplomatic achievements of the 19th century. Japan had left her centuries-old isolation; she had opened her ports to the Western world; she had begun a new career among the nations.

JAPAN FROM COMMODORE PERRY TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR

A new era in Japanese history began with the treaty signed with Commodore Perry in 1854. In 1853 the Shogun, the Japanese ruler, had died, and Japan was in a ferment over foreign invasion. The three succeeding shoguns (rulers) were utterly unable to cope with the situation. Despite the popular dislike of the policy, concessions had to be granted to foreigners. In 1859 Townsend Harris, the first American consul in Japan, succeeded in negotiating an extensive commercial treaty without the limitations of the convention granted Perry. Russia, England, and the Netherlands soon secured similar treaties. In 1860 the first Japanese envoys were sent to Washington; and in 1861, to the European courts. As the Emperor was aloof from this new policy, the attachment of the people turned from the shoguns to the Emperor and resulted in the last shogun, Keiki, surrendering his power to the Emperor Meiji in 1868. Thus ended the unfortunate dual system of government which had prevailed in Japan since 1603. The several bombardments of Japanese cities by foreign nations, whose citizens had been killed during the anti-foreign agitation, convinced the Japanese of the efficiency of Western attainments. A period of rapid Westernization that was to change Japan into a typical modern industrial and military power began. In 1890 a new constitution was drawn up. In 1894-95 occurred Japan's first foreign war in centuries—the war with China by which she acquired Formosa. In 1900 Japan showed her growing power further by joining with the Western Powers in putting down the Boxer Rebellion in China. Her emergence as a first-class power, however, resulted from her victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05, by which she began her expansion on the Asian mainland. Her

international prestige was strengthened by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. In 1910 she further extended her power by annexing Korea. In 1911 the Emperor Meiji died and was succeeded by Yoshihito. Though it is impossible to determine how much he was responsible for the changes that took place during his long rule, his reign remains one of the most amazing in Japanese history. At its opening Japan was a weak, torn, and distracted feudal land. With its close she had become a military and industrial power on the eve of an important part in the First World War.

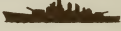
We have room in this country for but one flag, the Stars and Stripes . . . We have room for but one loyalty, loyalty to the United States . . . We have room for but one language, the English language.

—Theodore Roosevelt, THE GREAT ADVENTURE. Also last message to the American Defense Society, Jan. 3, 1919, two days before his death.

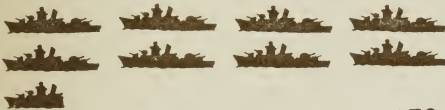
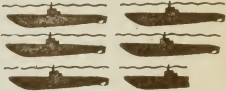
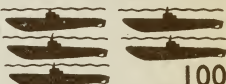
. . . The great essential to our happiness and prosperity is that we adhere to the principles upon which the Government was established and insist upon their faithful observance. Equality of rights must prevail, and our laws be always and everywhere respected and obeyed.

—From the First Inaugural Address of President William McKinley, March 4, 1897.

NAVAL STRENGTH AS OF DEC. 15, 1941

	BATTLESHIPS	CRUISERS	AIRCRAFT CARRIERS
UNITED STATES	 17	   37	
BRITISH EMPIRE	 15	   62	
JAPAN	 11	   44	 1
FRANCE	 6	 17	
ITALY	 5	 11	
GERMANY	 EACH SYMBOL = 20 VESSELS 3	 9	
RUSSIA	 3	 10	

Of the French battleships 3 are in British hands, as are 4 cruise several destroyers, and numerous smaller boats, including several submarines. The figure for Italian destroyers included

DESTROYERS	SUBMARINES
 172	 113
 240	 45
 126	 80
 60	 75
 90	 100
 48	 225
 40	 120

many large torpedo boats. Of the cruisers, about 7 Japanese, 1 Italian, and 6 Russian are classed as obsolete.

JAPAN'S PACIFIC BASES

Ironically enough, some of Japan's most strategically located bases were mandated to her by the Allies at the close of the First World War. Completely surrounding the United States' base at Guam are the Marianas, the Marshall Islands, and the Carolines. South of the Palau Islands (a part of the Caroline group) are the rich Netherlands Indies and the Philippine Islands, both objects of attack. Before the First World War these islands belonged to Germany. They were occupied by Japan, then an Ally, and at the close of the war, established under Japanese mandate. During the next two decades a number of these islands were turned into naval and air bases from which Japan could launch her final effort at complete domination of the Far East.

Guam, a United States base and largest of the Marianas group, is the only non-Japanese controlled island in the entire area. The Marianas have a total area of 175 square miles and a population of about 20,000 Japanese and about 50,000 natives. The Carolines consist of 550 small islands with administrative centers at Yap and Ponape, and have an area of 380 square miles and a population estimated at about 36,000. The Palau Islands are the administrative center of Japan's Pacific mandates. Nearest to the United States base at Hawaii are Japan's Marshall Islands, which have an area of 160 square miles and population of about 10,000. Most important of this group are Majeru and Jaluit.

Among Japan's strategic posts not in the mandated group is the important island of Formosa, taken from China at the turn of the century. North of the Philippines and extremely close to Manila, Formosa is large (almost 14,000 square miles) and well populated (approximately 4,560,000).

JAPAN IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Following the outbreak of the World War, Japan declared war on Germany in accordance with her treaty of alliance with Great Britain. Disclaiming intent of permanently acquiring territory, Japan avowedly entered the war to protect the Far East interests of her ally and to expel the Germans from the leased territory of Kiao-chau, China. On November 6, 1914, after a siege of 72 days, the German fortress of Tsing-tao, at Kiao-chau, surrendered to Japanese and British forces. Japanese warships then supported the British both by driving von Spee's fleet, which had left Tsing-tao, toward the ships of Admiral Cradock off the South American coast, and by assisting British patrols on the coast of North America. Japanese forces occupied Germany's Marshall, Pelew, Caroline, and Marianas Islands, in the North Pacific. No Japanese troops were sent to European theaters of war, but Japanese torpedo boats under Admiral Saito convoyed allied merchantmen in the Mediterranean throughout the war. In 1915 Japan presented to China the Twenty-One Demands, designed to consolidate her position in Eastern Asia. Japan's paramount interests in Shantung, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia were reluctantly admitted by China. By secret clauses Japan sought to provide China with advisers in political, financial, and military matters and to exclude any but Japanese capital for railways, harbors, and mines in the province of Fukien, opposite the Japanese Island of Taiwan (Formosa). Two treaties were concluded, extending to 99 years the leases of Port Arthur, Dairen, and the South Manchurian and Antung-Mukden railways. The United States recognized the special interests of Japan by the Lansing-Ishii agreement of 1917. In 1918 an allied force under the Japanese General Otani was landed at Vladivostok to aid the Czecho-Slovaks and the

JAPAN IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

White Russians and to protect the munitions supplied to Russia by the United States. All other nations withdrew their troops in 1919, but the Japanese, having advanced into Siberia as far as Chita and Omsk, found it inexpedient to follow their example. The Treaty of Versailles transferred Kiao-chau to Japan; also the German-owned railways, mines, and other properties in Shantung. Subsequently the supreme council of the Allies assigned the German islands north of the equator to Japan as a mandate, and Japan entered the League of Nations, but withdrew in 1933. The mandated islands included the Marianas, the Marshall and Caroline islands, many of which were heavily fortified by Japan for Pacific bases.



JAPAN AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

After the First World War Japan embarked on a program of naval expansion; but in 1922, in a pact with Great Britain and the United States, agreed to a 5-5-3 ratio in naval strength. (This agreement was terminated by Japan in 1934.) In 1926 Yoshihito died and Hirohito became emperor. In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria and in 1932 set up a new Manchurian state, Manchukuo. This led to an economic boycott by China against Japan. The latter country retaliated by attacking Shanghai. In 1933 the Japanese invaded and took the province of Jehol. These and other manifestations of aggressive policy on the continent led to an inquiry by a League of Nations commission, the outcome of which was Japan's withdrawal from the League. A nationalist faction within the army grew increasingly influential in Japanese politics in the 1930's. Early in 1936 a group of young soldiers assassinated four high-government officials, all moderates, but failed in their attempt to slay Premier Okada. Foreign Minister Koki Hirota then replaced Okada. The industrialists, while successfully opposing an army-inspired plan to nationalize electric utilities, were obliged to accept Hirota's proposal for economic control of key industries.

In February, 1937, Hirota was succeeded by Hayashi, who in turn was replaced in May of that year by Prince Fumimaro Konoye, military-Fascist pressure being a factor in both cases. A bill passed unanimously in March, 1938, gave the government complete control of Japanese life in times of emergency. During the years 1936-39 much friction existed between Japan and Russia, the major events during this period being the unconcealed friendship of Russia for Chiang Kai-shek, Russia's persistent refusal to enter into discussions on the permanency of Japanese fisheries off Siberia, the German-Japanese anti-Comintern pact of 1936, a

trade agreement formed in 1938 between Germany and Manchukuo, which was naturally displeasing to Russia, and a series of Japanese-Russian battles along the border of Manchukuo. Meanwhile the Japanese army had begun to disregard the rights of British, American, and French interests in China. Among the resulting incidents were the wounding of Britain's ambassador to China, and the bombing and sinking of the *Panay*, an American gunboat, both in 1937; and the blockade of the British concession at Tientsin in 1939. In 1938, when the Japanese made proposals for a settlement of the Sino-Japanese War, the United States made clear that it would refuse to recognize the "New Order in East Asia." In January, 1939, a new government was formed. Hiranuma replaced Konoye as premier. In July, 1939, the United States announced that its commercial treaty of 1911 with Japan would be terminated six months thereafter. In these and other countermeasures against the Japanese, Britain usually gave support. In August, 1939, after the disturbing announcement of the Russian-German agreement, the government fell and Hiranuma was succeeded by General Nobuyuki Abe. The new government soon announced itself as neutral in the European war, then just beginning, and made a truce with Russia.

Throughout the winter of 1939-40 the economic strain of the Sino-Japanese War showed itself increasingly in fuel and food shortages. In January, 1940, a new cabinet was formed under Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai. The new government sought to end the war in March by setting up the "Nanking Government" under the puppet Wang Ching-wei, former Chinese premier, but Wang won the support of only a small number of Chinese. The cabinet of Yonai fell in July and was replaced by one headed by Prince Konoye. The government leaders then declared for closer ties with Germany and Italy. In

August the government announced its plan for a new Japanese state based on totalitarianism.

Taking advantage of France's collapse in Europe, Japan pressed demands for the cession of air bases in Indo-China. The road to this objective was cleared in September, 1940, when Hitler offered Japan a free hand in Indo-China and the Netherlands Indies in return for joining the Axis. Japan formally pledged allegiance to the Axis and soon was entrenched in northeastern French Indo-China, having cut Chiang Kai-shek's chief supply line, the Indo-China Railroad. The Japanese now were able to expand southward in the colony and westward into Thailand. By diplomatic pressure on war-engaged Britain they were also able to close the Burma Road, last remaining major supply line to China, for three months from July, 1940.

Throughout 1940-41 the United States gradually tightened its restrictions on trade with Japan, continuing on a day-to-day basis after expiration of the commercial treaty in 1940, later placing an embargo on scrap metal and oil, and still later (July, 1941) halting oil shipments to Japan and the importation of Japanese silk. In May, 1941, Japan signed a reciprocal trade treaty with French Indo-China and launched unsuccessful offensives in Shansi, Honan, and Hupeh provinces. In July France yielded to Japanese demands for bases in southern Indo-China. In the same month the cabinet decreed a "capital mobilization plan," bringing all finance, industry, production, and distribution under government control. In August and September, 1941, the Chinese made successful counteroffensives in five provinces. In October the Japanese claimed a victory in Honan and launched a new offensive, but still were far from triumph over Chiang Kai-shek, after four years of costly warfare. In October Lieutenant General Eiki Tojo replaced Konoye as premier, thus placing the entire nation under the control of the military party.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

From President Monroe's seventh annual message to Congress, December 2, 1823.

. . . At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. . . . In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . .

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with

our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that

Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course. . . . Each government, confiding in its own strength, has less to apprehend from the other, and in consequence each, enjoying a greater freedom of action, is rendered more efficient for all the purposes for which it was instituted. . . .

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

The unanimous declaration of the thirteen United States of America.

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: For protecting them by a mock Trial from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of Trial by Jury: For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences: For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

He has abdicated Government here by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which de-

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

nounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

WE, THEREFORE, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

*Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all—
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall!*

—John Dickinson, LIBERTY SONG.
First published in the *Boston Gazette*, 18 July, 1768.





